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## NOTES AND COMMENTS

BY no means the least notable circumstance connected with the celebration this year of the sixtieth anniversary of Confederation has been the widespread interest in the history of the Confederation period. Some indication of this interest is furnished by the experience of the Archives at Ottawa, the staff of which was kept busy for many weeks meeting the flood of inquiries which poured in from all parts of the Dominion. These requests came from the central committees at Ottawa, from local committees, from writers, newspapers, and schools, and, in a surprising number, from boys and girls. Manuscript materials, pictures, maps, and historical relics were all used as sources of information. Of special interest were documents in Sir John A. Macdonald's papers—the original draft of the British North America Act in Sir John's own handwriting, his later drafts, and the proposed amendments. More than two hundred requests were made for copies of Sir John's draft of the Act where he makes mention of the "Kingdom of Canada". The requests for copies of pictures and maps exceeded two thousand. Many were for Harris's picture of the Fathers of Confederation, but by far the greater number were for some one of the Fathers in whom the inquirer was particularly interested. Requests by committees included pictures of the Halifax excursionists, the Charlottetown and Quebec Conferences, the buildings in which these were held, different towns and cities in 1867, and many others. How difficult it would be to get accurate information on such matters of general interest without the aid of archive collections must be apparent to everyone, and it is to be hoped that a by-product of all this activity may be

to demonstrate the value of archive collections not only to the special student, but to the general public.

No piece of historical writing can be made valuable merely by the number, length, or accuracy of its footnotes. Any good instrument may be misused, and the list of books in which the authors seem to regard footnotes as a kind of fetish continues to drag out its weary length. A reaction against this abuse is, however, no excuse for technical inaccuracy. Footnotes have little other purpose than to inform the reader of the materials used by the author, and to enable the reader, if he wishes, to consult those materials himself with the least possible trouble; but this purpose the footnotes should fulfil. With this end in view certain technical conventions are so universally acknowledged that it is a source of unending surprise to find how seldom they are observed in manuscripts intended for publication. Without any apparent regret the authors of these manuscripts omit mention of the place and date of publication, or the initials of the authors of the volumes referred to. For some writers the title appearing on the binding or on the page headings seems to be of equal value to that on the title page, and the same material appearing in subsequent footnotes may be altered in form. The titles of essays appearing in obscure corners of publications of historical societies are given without a clue as to the series in which they are to be found. A sentence marked as a quotation in an article recently sent to the REVIEW was by the footnote attributed to a friend of the author. Apparently it had not previously been printed, but was a clever remark dropped in the course of conversation. The reluctance to rob a friend of credit for his witticisms is a commendable form of honesty, but it should be demonstrated elsewhere than in a footnote which is intended to provide a means of checking the quotation. The faith of those who leave these details to be corrected by the editor should perhaps be regarded by him as a compliment, but it would be easy to forego the compliment in exchange for the hours spent in settling points which with little difficulty could have been made right by the author himself.

The unusual opportunity enjoyed by the Hudson's Bay Company of combining historical interest with modern business enterprise is happily illustrated by *The Beaver*, published quarterly by the company in Winnipeg. A considerable portion of each issue is devoted to short articles touching particularly on the history

of northern and western Canada. Some of these are of value even to the special student. The issue of March, 1927, for example, contained a chronological record and other material regarding Henry Kelsey, part of which had not previously been printed.

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The information contained in the first article of the present number will probably come as a surprise to most of the readers of the REVIEW. The author, Professor Trotter of Queen's University, informs us that, although he was aware of a growing interest in Canadian history among the universities of the United States, he was himself surprised on investigating the subject more closely to learn how very rapid that development had been. The second article, that on Lord Durham, is by Mr. William Smith of the Public Archives, Ottawa. While agreeing with the usual view that Lord Durham's place in Canadian history must be determined largely by his *Report*, Mr. Smith has analysed carefully the administration of Durham in Canada as an aid to the understanding of the defects as well as the merits of that great document. The following article by Mr. George V. V. Nicholls of Halifax on *A Forerunner of Joseph Howe* throws light on a little known episode in the history of Nova Scotia. Mr. A. H. U. Colquhoun, one of the board of editors of this REVIEW and deputy minister of education for Ontario, contributes the documents on the reciprocity negotiations of 1869 with the United States. The short discussion of Canadian prices between 1913 and 1925 is by Professor V. W. Bladen of the department of economics of the University of Toronto, and Mr. A. F. W. Plumptre, a student in the same department. While the value of this analysis and the amount of work represented by it will be best appreciated by students of economics, it has also an interest for the general reader as a comment on the methods by which price fluctuations may be computed.

## CANADIAN HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITIES OF THE UNITED STATES

NOT so very long ago one would have looked in vain for courses on Canadian history in the curricula of universities, even in Canada. So recent, indeed, has been its introduction into Canadian universities, and so slight is the attention still accorded it in some of them, that Canadians would certainly have no just ground for wonder, much less for grievance, were its pursuit utterly neglected as yet in institutions of higher learning beyond the borders of the Dominion. Far, however, from that being the case, the last few years have witnessed a rapidly growing interest in the subject in the universities of the United States. Such a development is not only an encouraging evidence that American scholars are realizing the importance and value of the study of Canadian history—it is, also, an auspicious omen of international goodwill. So significant is this growing interest that the editor of the *REVIEW* has asked me to present a brief survey of its rise and present extent. The paper has been made possible by the cordial co-operation of those who have kindly supplied information in response to a questionnaire. If any appropriate source has been inadvertently overlooked in the search for information, one can only express regret and the hope that the possessor of additional data of importance will not leave the *REVIEW*'s readers ignorant thereof.

It would be a mistake to assume that Canadian history was entirely unknown in the United States until universities introduced it into their curricula. Some of the most important investigation and writing on the subject during past decades stands to the credit of American historians such as Parkman, Winsor, and Fiske, although it is true that their chief interest was in that early period of Canadian history when all North America was still colonial and when the affairs of all its sections were confusedly interwoven as a result of the rivalries of European mother countries. But however great was the interest on the part of certain scholars, the fact remains that in the universities, prior to the great war, work in Canadian history as such was limited to an occasional dissertation, usually on a phase of the early period,



by a graduate student, who was most frequently a Canadian. One exception was found in an isolated course offered to undergraduates in the University of California in the autumn of 1905 by Professor W. S. Ferguson, now of Harvard, when he held a chair of classical history in the former institution. In those days it was usual for professors of American history modestly to disclaim any exact knowledge of events north of the international boundary after the close of the American Revolution. As partial exceptions some attention was at times given to the Canadian campaigns of the War of 1812, certain phases of boundary disputes, the fisheries, and other international questions, all viewed, however, rather strictly as chapters in the history of the United States. Professors of English history, on their part, were inclined to limit their view pretty closely to the "Old Country" and the old empire, and to give merely passing notice, if any, to the North American portion of that new British Empire which was largely a creation of the years since American independence was achieved. In other words, the story of English-speaking peoples and English institutions outside the borders of the Republic was thought of either as a background for the history of the United States, or, in the teaching of modern English history, as the study of an interesting phase of things far removed from the contemporary American scene. Courses placing any emphasis upon outlying dominions such as Canada, either historically or through a study of their governmental systems, were so rare as to be almost non-existent.

About a decade ago a change of outlook became noticeable and has been accelerating rapidly since. A somewhat analogous development had occurred after the Spanish-American war, when Americans, with a growing interest in new opportunities for economic enterprise, found their attention drawn dramatically towards Latin America. In the universities the Spanish language became all at once a popular subject, while numerous courses were soon offered and chairs established dealing with the history and institutions of the newly noticed Latin neighbours. Similarly, but on a vastly larger scale, the great war, in many ways, increased American awareness of the rest of the world, and, not least, of Canada, whose war activities and war record were soon well known throughout the country. Other factors also worked to increase interest. The Dominion, still to a great extent dependent upon external sources for large borrowings, had now to turn chiefly to New York for them instead of to London as in the past. Ameri-

can investment increased by leaps and bounds not only in government loans but, after the return of peace, in numerous phases of Canada's economic development. Thus to the personal interests previously established by the emigration of eastern Canadians to the United States and the more recent migration of western Americans into the Canadian North West, as well as to the old ties growing out of close cultural relations and intercourse in trade, there was now added the incentive to curiosity furnished by the dominating place taken by Canada as a field for external investment. Good roads and the automobile also enabled American visitors in unprecedented numbers to gain personal acquaintance with many parts of the Dominion.

Any scattered remnants of old ambitions suggested by the nineteenth-century catchword, "Manifest Destiny," had been pretty well dissipated by Canada's rejection of reciprocity in 1911, and the war had practically finished the process, but the status of Canada in the years following the war was to most Americans utterly inexplicable and often unbelievable. The debate in the Senate at Washington upon the treaty of Versailles revealed, particularly in connection with the discussion of the membership of the dominions in the League of Nations, the interesting fact that to many citizens of the Republic, Canada still seemed so essentially a colony that her vote would necessarily be merely an additional vote for Great Britain. Gradually, however, the logic of events did its work, until, with the pronouncements of last year's Imperial Conference upon the relations existing among the several members of the Commonwealth, and with the actual exchange this year of ministers between Washington and Ottawa, the fact of dominion autonomy at length became too obvious to be denied. Canada, even to the popular mind in the United States, at last took her place among the nations of the world, to be thought of and treated no longer either as a mere colony, or as a future addition to the Republic.

But for many citizens of the United States there remained a tremendous puzzle. How was one to account for the fact that a nation to which had been given so much international recognition should preserve, along with its rather noisily assertive nationalism, an ardent devotion to the ideal of continued membership in the British Empire? To citizens of a nation such as the United States, trained for generations to deduce from their own national history the dogma that liberty is unattainable and un preservable except by separation from the old world and particularly from the

British portion of it, the situation did indeed present a peculiarly bewildering puzzle. The more obvious the facts the greater became the bewilderment. And, to make matters still more difficult of understanding, there seemed to be in this strange new relationship an astonishing and perilous lack of interest in, and reliance upon, such formal bonds of union as, in the eyes of American citizens, were provided by the constitution of the United States. Moreover, the very similarity in many respects between Canadian and American life and institutions made the now obvious differences in national genius and political loyalties all the more difficult of comprehension. The puzzle could be solved, perhaps, by gaining an historical perspective upon the origins, not only proximate, but remote, out of which the present situation had developed.

Hence there arose a new eagerness to become acquainted with Canadian history, and professors in the universities, sharing in the general interest and desiring to meet the fresh curiosity, were at the same time quick to see that here was a new opportunity for broadening the public horizon through their students. For it is a notable fact that, while history has been long employed in the United States with almost unexampled success as a means of inculcating patriotism and conservatism in school children, it is no less true that in the universities it has been used for many years as a most effective means of offsetting inherited prejudices, broadening the outlook, and opening the mind of more mature students. This accounts in large measure for the wide scope of history curricula in so many American institutions—a fact which is sometimes a matter of surprise to those accustomed to think of history as sufficiently covered for purposes of university instruction by courses on the development of Europe and of Britain. Many an American university history curriculum has been amplified consciously as an antidote to insularity.

In a very few instances the Canadian birth of a professor may have increased his readiness for the introduction of Canadian history. Between the relative enrolment of Canadian students in various American universities and the presence or absence of courses on Canadian history there is, however, no discernible correlation.<sup>1</sup> While certain special circumstances in individual cases will be noticed later, it may be said with confidence that the

<sup>1</sup>This statement is based upon a careful examination of detailed data upon the enrolment of Canadian students in American universities, gathered by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Ottawa.

foregoing discussion presents the general setting which accounts in large measure for the beginning and rapid increase of courses on Canadian history in the universities of the United States.

In giving a survey of this development it is desirable for the sake of clarity to take up in the first place the inclusion of Canadian history in more general or allied courses, and in the second place its introduction as a distinct course of study. Then several related considerations will be dealt with.

While the usual type of course on the history of the United States has long included some matter, particularly upon the colonial period, dealing with the northern half of the continent, there is a recent tendency to make the introductory course in American history a wider survey, taking in the whole of North America, or even sometimes North and South America, and giving Canada its due share of attention in such a view. At the University of California, for a decade, there has been offered by Professor Herbert E. Bolton an introductory course called the history of the Americas, in which as many as a thousand freshmen and sophomores each year gain about as much familiarity with the outlines of Canadian history as with the history of the United States or Latin America. Professor Bolton has also given for fifteen years, to classes numbering two hundred to three hundred students, a course called the history of the West, which carries the story of colonial North America down to the middle of the nineteenth century, subordinating national history to the larger aspects of the historical development of the continent. The publication in 1920 of a textbook embodying this wider view, *The Colonization of North America, 1492-1783*, by Professor Bolton and Professor T. M. Marshall, facilitated elsewhere the broadening of scope in courses on early American history, and stimulated the growth of a similar attitude toward the later period as well. At Hamilton College, Clinton, N.Y., Professor Milledge L. Bonham, Jr., inaugurated in 1921 a year's course on the colonization of North America, devoting a fifth of the time to Canada. This course has since then been given periodically to classes of from eighteen to thirty students. At the University of Montana, Missoula, Professor Paul C. Phillips gives a course of similar type to about forty students. At Yale, since 1923-24, Professor Ralph H. Gabriel has given a half-year course on the history of North America, in which half the time is devoted to the history of Canada. As many as forty students take this course. North-

western University, Evanston, Illinois, also has a course on the history of the two Americas, given by Professor I. J. Cox, into which Canadian development enters largely. In somewhat less degree, but nevertheless deserving of remark, Canada is dealt with in such American history courses as that on the "Old Northwest" given for about fifteen years at the University of Illinois, now by Professor T. C. Pease, to classes of fifty to eighty; in the diplomatic history of the United States, at the University of Chicago, George Washington University, and elsewhere; in the course on British-American relations at Stanford University, and in various courses in recent American history. In economic history, also, there is a perceptible tendency to think of Canadian development as closely associated with that of the United States and therefore deserving of attention in connection with the work in American economic history.

A more widespread movement has been the increased attention devoted to Canada in connection with the courses on the history of the British Empire which have been so generally introduced in recent years. Only here and there has such a course been given for a considerable time. The longest continuous record for it, so far as the writer is aware, is held by the University of Wisconsin, where for twenty years work has been offered on the British Empire since 1815, and is now given to from fifty to sixty students yearly by Professor Paul Knaplund, whose articles on imperial policy have made his name well known to readers of the *REVIEW*. Almost every year since 1914 Bryn Mawr College, Pennsylvania, has had a course on British imperialism given to classes of about thirty by Professor William Roy Smith, in which about four weeks' attention has been given to Canada. At the University of Michigan, since 1918, Professor A. L. Cross has been devoting three weeks each year to Canada in his course on the British Empire taken by about a hundred students. Eight years ago Professor Charles H. Roberts of Texas Christian University, Fort Worth, inaugurated a yearly course on the history of Greater Britain, followed by a summer school course in alternate summers on the British Commonwealth of Nations. Six weeks in each of these have been given to Canada, and the courses have generally attracted respectively eighty or ninety and about twenty-five students. For the past four years the former course has been handled by Professor W. J. Hammond. In a one-semester course on the Empire which has been running for seven years at Hamline University, St. Paul, Professor Clarence W. Rife

spends about five weeks on Canadian history. The textbook by Professor Howard Robinson on *The Development of the British Empire*, which appeared in 1922, did a good deal both to call attention to the desirability of offering instruction on this subject and to provide the means of giving it with facility. Professor Robinson has now for three years been spending on Canada a third to a half of the time in his course on the British Empire since 1815 at Miami University, Oxford, Ohio, besides emphasizing overseas matters in his general course in British history. This summer he gave the former course at Western Reserve University, Cleveland. In this university for the past five years Professor C. P. Gould has offered several courses dealing with the British Empire in which Canada has received attention.

At a number of other universities there are now courses on the Empire in which as much as a quarter to a third of the time is given to Canada. Professor T. M. Marshall, already mentioned as collaborating with Professor Bolton in writing *The Colonization of North America*, introduced a course of this nature three years ago at Washington University, St. Louis. Given so far in alternate years, it is to be offered yearly as soon as possible. For the past three years, and in one summer school session, in the University of West Virginia, Morgantown, Professor Wilson P. Shortridge has given a course on the Empire to about forty students, the chief emphasis being placed upon the self-governing dominions and a quarter of the time being devoted to Canada. In the course on the Empire at the State University of Iowa as given last year by Professor W. Ross Livingston, the subject is viewed as the evolution of a commonwealth and approximately one-fourth of the time is spent on Canada.

A course belonging to this group, and one-fifth of which will be devoted to Canada, is announced at Louisiana State University for 1927-28 by Professor E. M. Violette, and another is projected at the University of Indiana for the succeeding year by Professor W. T. Morgan. At Wooster College, Wooster, Ohio, Professor Norman Macdonald has supplemented the history of England and Greater Britain by a course on British colonial policy, given twice in the last three years to about sixty students. Among other institutions in which noteworthy attention is now paid to the history of Canada as a part of courses in modern British history there should be mentioned the University of California, where for seven or eight years Professor W. A. Morris has been



treating it in this connection in classes of fifty to sixty; Columbia University, where for eight years there has been a class of about the same size under Professor R. L. Schuyler; and the University of Tennessee, where Professor Marguerite B. Hamer has had a class of about fifty students for the past four years. Harvard, Minnesota, Chicago, Northwestern, Brown University, at Providence, and Goucher College at Baltimore, should also be noticed, and there are no doubt still other institutions in which the attention devoted to Canada in courses on the history of the Empire occupies as much as several weeks. The foregoing evidence is sufficient to show conclusively that there is in American universities an accelerating trend of interest towards British Empire history, in which the study of Canada plays a rôle of prime importance.

Sometimes Canadian history commands a considerable share of attention also in courses on the expansion of Europe such as have been given at the University of California, by Professor H. I. Priestly, for the past four years to classes of about seventy-five; at Harvard University by Professor W. C. Abbott; at Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana, by Professor William E. Armstrong; at the University of Chicago by Professor Arthur P. Scott.

Even in the history of literature some attention has been given to Canada. There is a not infrequent tendency to treat some Canadian writers in connection with the study of American literature. At Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, Troy, New York, Professor Ray Palmer Baker, whose writings on the earlier history of literary developments in British North America are well known, presents an advanced survey course in the evolution of English literature as an organic unit, with due consideration of the literature of the United States and the British dominions, and touches upon some of the most important Canadian writers. Despite the fact that it is still a matter of dispute in some quarters as to whether, historically speaking, there is justification for the use of "Canadian literature" as a distinctive term, a comprehensive course, so styled, was given at the University of Washington, Seattle, as early as 1920, by Dr. R. M. Garrett.

Attention to Canadian history and institutions is noticeable also in courses on government. While courses on comparative government generally deal entirely or almost so with Europe and the United States, there is a tendency to pay attention also to the British dominions, alike in their external relations and as examples



of federal government. For instance, at the University of Montana, Professor Paul C. Phillips devotes a fortnight to Canada in his course on comparative government, taken by about thirty students. The dominions receive particular attention in Professor C. D. Allin's course on the government and politics of the British Empire given in alternate years for the past decade at the University of Minnesota to classes of about twenty; in Professor David P. Barrows' course at the University of California on the colonial dependencies of European states, taken usually by two or three hundred students; and in a similar course offered at Harvard University in recent years by various persons. At Columbia University for two years Professor Lindsay Rogers has given to classes of twenty students a one-semester course on the governments of Canada and Australia. At Indiana University special attention has for ten years been devoted to Canadian government in the course on English government given by Professor E. M. Linton to about fifteen students. At the University of Wisconsin, Professor W. R. Sharp gives a one-semester course to advanced students on federalism in the British dominions. Trinity University, Waxahachie, Texas, announces for 1927-28 and alternate years a course on governments in the British Commonwealth, one-fourth of which will deal with Canada.

Of still greater interest and importance as marking the growth of attention to Canadian history has been the inauguration of courses dealing wholly with that subject. Of these in the last decade there have been almost a score, which will now be noticed in the order of their appearance. In the spring semester of 1917 Professor Mary W. Williams introduced a course at Goucher College, Baltimore, which she gave for five years to elective groups of twelve to fifteen students. Beginning as a three-hour course in the first year, it afterwards was given two hours a week. In 1921 the special course was given up to make way for one on the foreign relations of the United States. A course on the British Empire was then introduced, and, although it was afterwards dropped for a time, it is offered anew for the coming college year.

In 1918 Professor Carl Wittke inaugurated at Ohio State University, Columbus, a course running five hours a week for one quarter, which has since been given regularly, and in some years twice, to classes averaging about thirty. In the same year Professor Edmond S. Meany of the University of Washington,

Seattle, began to give a three-hour, one-quarter course on Canadian history. When first offered, this course was elected by nine students, but in the second year the number jumped to one hundred and twenty, and in the year just ended the enrolment reached one hundred and thirty-five.

In 1919 it was decided to introduce work in Canadian history at Stanford University, California. The department already had chairs devoted respectively to Latin America and to the Far East, including British India and Australasia, and with the addition of Canada the countries facing the Pacific would all be dealt with. The work in British-American relations, already carried on intensively by Professor E. D. Adams, also suggested the desirability of this extension. The dean of the Law School, a Canadian by birth, supported the idea strongly. Accordingly in filling the chair of English history which had just become vacant, the present writer was appointed on the understanding that Canadian history should form a special part of his work. In the spring of 1920 a course running four hours a week for a quarter was begun, and has been continued regularly, with classes enrolling usually from twenty to forty students. Since 1924 Professor Carl F. Brand has occupied this chair.

The circumstances under which the subject was introduced at Hamilton College, Clinton, New York, provide a striking example of the part played by interest among the students. The head of the history department, Professor Milledge L. Bonham, Jr., had offered to his advanced students a year's work divided between the United States since 1865 in the first half-year, and Latin America in the second. After giving this combination with satisfaction, he concluded that knowledge of the northern neighbour was at least as desirable as of the southern and more remote countries of the hemisphere. Accordingly in the spring of 1922, after the students had selected their courses for the following autumn, he summoned the two dozen young men, natives of several different states, who had chosen the recent history of their own country, "and put before them the chief reasons for substituting the history of Canada. . . . With but one dissenting vote they chose Canada." The work on Canada and Latin America was repeated in 1923-24, "in response to a petition from about twelve men who would be graduated that year, and had been unable to get the course the previous year." Since then, being alternated with a course on the colonization of America and the development of the United States, it has been given three

hours a week in every second year to classes numbering fifteen to twenty-five. Hereafter it will be offered each year.<sup>1</sup>

At the University of West Virginia Professor James M. Callahan has long been interested in Canadian history, and five years ago a two-hour one-semester course upon it was inaugurated by Professor Wilson P. Shortridge, who since that time has continued to give it each semester and at three summer sessions to classes of forty to fifty students. An article by Prof. Shortridge, calculated to further the growth of interest in Canadian history, and entitled *Some Inter-Relations in Canadian-American History*, appeared last year in a volume of *Studies in American History* (Bloomington, Indiana, 1926), inscribed to James Albert Woodburn by his former students. Another institution in which the subject has been taught for about the same period as at West Virginia is Lawrence College, Appleton, Wisconsin, one of whose benefactors, in supporting a chair in American history, stipulated that one of the courses offered should be on the history of Canada. The course, three hours a week for a half-year, alternates with one on Latin America, enrolls usually about seventeen students, and is given by Professor John B. MacHarg. In the same state, at Marquette University, Milwaukee, beginning in 1923, a three-hour one-semester course has been given to classes ranging from ten to thirty, by the Reverend Professor P. J. Lomasney, S.J.

At the University of Nebraska, Lincoln, in the summer session of 1924, Dr. Mary W. Williams of Goucher College was a visiting professor and, at the request of the department of history, undertook a course on Canada. It ran five hours a week for six weeks and was elected by more than twenty students.

Professor Carl Wittke, on leave of absence from Ohio State University in 1924-25, introduced Canadian history by request at the State University of Iowa, Iowa City. His full-year, two-hour course was taken by twenty-five students. The welcome extended to the new subject was marked by the university's publishing in December, 1924, as an *Extension Bulletin*, an article by the visiting lecturer on *The Interrelation of Canadian and United States History*, the sixth of a series of *Aids for History Teachers*. In the following year the course on Canada was carried on by Professor W. Ross Livingston of the regular staff. Though retained in the calendar it was not offered for 1926-27, being

<sup>1</sup>M. L. Bonham, Jr., *Some Reasons for Teaching the History of Canada in the Colleges of the United States*, in *The Historical Outlook*, February, 1924; and letter from Professor Bonham, May 7, 1927.

alternated with a new course, mentioned above, on the British Empire.

In the same college year which saw the introduction of Canadian history at Iowa, Professor Charles H. Roberts offered a three-hour half-year course upon Canada at Texas Christian University, Fort Worth. This has been given each year since (in 1926-27 by Professor William J. Hammond) to classes of twenty to thirty students.

In 1925-26, and again last year, Professor A. Harvey Collins gave a one-semester course, one hour a week, to twelve to fifteen students at the University of Redlands, California. It is planned to double the time devoted to it in the near future.

The college year just past has been the most notable yet for the number of institutions introducing courses in Canadian history. At Grinnell College, Iowa, Professor Cecil F. Lavell gave one for a half year, two hours a week, to twenty-four students as an elementary elective. It will probably be continued and may be made an advanced course to follow a course in British history given by Professor Charles E. Payne. (Messrs. Lavell and Payne several years ago helped forward the appreciation of the history of the British Empire by a brief volume intended for American students, entitled *Imperial England*, New York, 1918.) At Trinity University, Waxahachie, Texas, Professor Charles E. Cayley gave a half-year course, three hours a week, to twenty-eight students. Associated with another one-semester course, on Latin America, this work is to be offered in alternate years. At Waynesburg College, Waynesburg, Pennsylvania, Professor Albert B. Corey gave a half-year course three hours a week to a class of seven. In the summer session this year a course was introduced at the State Normal College, Ypsilanti, Michigan, by Professor Paul E. Hubbell, and given eight hours a week for six weeks to twenty-six students. At the University of Chicago, Professor Carl Wittke, visiting from Ohio State University, gave a course for the full summer quarter, four hours a week. Of the sixteen regularly enrolled members of the class all but one were graduate students. At Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana, Professor William E. Armstrong of Earlham College gave a course for eight and a half weeks, five days a week, on Canadian history to 1849.

For the college year 1927-28, the University of Maine, Orono, announces a three-hour, one-semester course in the history of Canada, to be given by Professor Thornton P. Terhune.

Courses on Canadian history seem for the most part to be given by instructors whose main other field of interest is American, though in a few cases the work is associated with that in British history. The situation is different, however, when the subject is handled as a part of other courses; for while the early period receives its fullest treatment in connection with American history, the more recent and more distinctively Canadian period is given attention chiefly in connection with the history and government of the Empire.

During the academic year just closed not far short of five hundred students were enrolled in courses announced as the history of Canada, and several times that number in classes where a third or more of the attention was devoted to Canada, to say nothing of the incidental treatment of the Dominion in many other courses.

At most of the institutions offering courses in Canadian history, and at some of those where it is dealt with only in connection with other courses, opportunity is afforded for research work in seminar classes. Occasionally whole groups are set at a series of related Canadian topics, as sometimes at Stanford in the British history seminar, at West Virginia during the past two years, and last year at Harvard in a course announced in the calendar as dealing with topics in Canadian history, given by Dr. A. P. Watts. More frequently individual papers dealing with Canada are undertaken in connection with seminars on the Empire, or on the United States or sections of it such as the Northwest, on international relations, and similar fields of study.

In the more advanced type of research leading to the production of graduate dissertations both the number of students and the number of institutions involved have considerably increased in the last few years. This has been in part the result of a growing demand by Canadian graduate students in American universities, of whom increasing numbers have wished to centre their professional studies around the history of their own country. Since it is generally the case, moreover, that American libraries contain more documentary material touching on Canada than on any other of the dominions, it follows that advanced students who wish to investigate the Commonwealth find it most convenient to focus their attention upon Canada. Also in economic and geographic studies, which often involve historical research and usually provide material for the future historian, the convenience

of propinquity has attracted scholars to Canadian subjects. The graduate schools which have come to be the most active in professional research relating to Canada are those at Harvard, Columbia, and Chicago, and in less though in some cases growing measure it is conducted at Wisconsin, Minnesota, Stanford, California, Clark, Yale, West Virginia, Ohio State, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, Iowa.<sup>1</sup> Signs are not lacking of a beginning in the same direction at still other universities. To enumerate here the dissertations which have appeared or are in preparation is impracticable. For detailed information in regard to those of the past two or three years the reader is referred to *Graduate Theses in Canadian History and Economics*, in the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW March, 1927, VIII, 51-55, and to the annual *List of doctoral dissertations in history now in progress at the chief American universities*, issued by the Carnegie Institution of Washington.

Worthy of remark in connection with this matter of research is the increase which has lately occurred in the number of scholars from the United States resorting to Canada, not only with the object of acquainting themselves at first hand with the Canadian background for their studies, but in large measure in order to make use of the country's historical collections, particularly in the manuscript room of the Public Archives at Ottawa. Last year, moreover, at least two American graduate students transferred to a Canadian university to pursue their studies in Canadian history.

The growth of interest concerning Canada in American universities is indicated in yet other ways. At Yale, as long ago as

<sup>1</sup>At Chicago, under Professor C. C. Colby, and at Clark, under Professor Clarence F. Jones, Canada has been strikingly exploited as a field of graduate study in economic and commercial geography. As long ago as 1922 Professor Colby led a field party of graduate students to the lower St. Lawrence and the Maritime Provinces. In the following summer Professor Jones, then also at Chicago, led a group studying the island of Montreal. More recently Professor Jones has directed several parties of a score of advanced students from Clark in studying Canadian economic geography by direct observation. Under the influence of such work the economic geography of North America is now taught in a considerable number of universities in the United States in a way which devotes notable attention to Canada. In this connection it is worth while to mention a book which was produced for use in courses of this sort: Professor Colby's *Source Book for the Economic Geography of North America* (Chicago, 1921).

The Summer School of Geology and Natural Resources of Princeton University sent a party of twenty-five undergraduates on an educational tour in Canada in the summer of 1927. It is hoped to make a tour of this sort part of the work of the school in alternate summers.



1916, when Mr. Justice W. R. Riddell of Toronto was invited to give the Dodge lectures on citizenship, among the suggested subjects the one for which the Yale authorities expressed a strong preference was the history and working of the Canadian constitution.<sup>1</sup> About the same time the late Edward Porritt gave a series of lectures dealing with Canadian history at Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore. It may be remarked that Mr. Porritt's *Evolution of the Dominion of Canada: Its Government and Its Politics*, published two years later (Yonkers-on-Hudson, 1918), was intended to explain the Canadian system of government particularly for the benefit of American students. At the sessions of the Institute of Politics at Williams College, Williamstown, and the more recently established Harris Foundation Institute at the University of Chicago, Canadian subjects have entered largely into the discussions. Several numbers, also, of the *Annals* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science have in recent years been devoted to Canada. At the annual meeting of the American Historical Association held at Ann Arbor in December, 1925, one session was devoted to a group of papers dealing with Canadian history.

A striking feature of the present situation is the growth of important collections of Canadiana in the United States. There have long been a few centres notable for printed materials on the subject. The facilities of this sort in greater Boston, at the Boston Public Library, the Widener Library at Harvard, and other libraries; in New York, at the Public Library and at Columbia; in Washington, at the Library of Congress—have hardly been excelled in the best libraries in Canada. And some of the state collections, particularly in the border regions closely connected with Canadian affairs through the years, have offered in the past excellent opportunities for research in certain phases of Canadian history. The building up of collections of Canadiana as such, however, is now being emphasized in the library policy of a number of universities. Wisconsin, Minnesota, Stanford, and California, have already made a large advance, and they are followed by Chicago, Yale, Ohio State, West Virginia, Michigan, Illinois, Iowa, Nebraska, North Dakota, in all of which a fair amount of progress has been made towards a research collection either for the subject as a whole or for some special period or phase. Their eagerness as collectors is not without its effect

<sup>1</sup>W. R. Riddell, *The Constitution of Canada in Its History and Practical Working* (New Haven, 1917).



upon booksellers if prices now quoted for out-of-print Canadiana are any evidence. The other universities mentioned in this survey are for the most part restricting their ambitions in regard to Canadiana, for the immediate future, to building up working libraries suitable for undergraduate instruction.

Teachers who wish to offer their students a course in the subject without waiting till a fairly generous collection of library material for class use shall have been acquired, voice the need for a volume that shall give a general view of Canadian history suitable as a textbook for university students. American publishers, aware of this situation, are eager to take advantage of it. Already Mr. Knopf has announced for publication during the coming year a history of Canada by Professor Wittke. At least one other university textbook is in preparation, though not yet announced, and publishers are besieging specialists in the field to undertake the writing of still others. Everything points to the view that the publishers are correct in their belief that the present study of Canadian history in the United States is but the forerunner of yet greater developments.

Public interest keeps pace with that in the universities. Recent symptoms of this are by no means lacking. Notice, for example, the attention which leading American newspapers thought it worth while to give to the Confederation celebrations of the past summer, when a number of them published special Canadian sections. The International Association of Kiwanis Clubs was not content merely to maintain its tradition, started in 1922, of a United States-Canada week, but in June issued a "Canadian Diamond Jubilee Number" of *The Kiwanis Magazine*, filled with articles by a group of distinguished Canadians.

Concerning the future relations of the two countries there is undoubtedly much to hope for as a result of the developing American interest in regard to Canada, particularly because of the steady and rapid progress being made in the direction of intelligent and careful study of our history in the universities of the United States. Already each year hundreds of students graduate into the world of affairs having acquired by this means an organized basis of knowledge for an intelligent appreciation of their northern neighbour, of its special interests and activities, its institutions, prejudices and ideals. As their number increases their influence in forming public opinion will be incalculable. This is bound to be peculiarly gratifying to Canadians, many of

whom have lived in the past under the weight of a feeling that when they were not ignored they were misunderstood by their American neighbours, and of a conviction that large numbers of the latter were still thinking of the Dominion in terms of an expansionist future for the States. Under these circumstances, a natural and widespread suspicion of the Republic's possible designs fostered not infrequently an ill-concealed and jealous animosity. But with increasing study in the United States of the historical bases of Canada's real position and attitude, Americans will rapidly arrive, as indeed many have already done, alike at a full recognition of Canada's nationhood and a frank appreciation and acceptance of the strength of her loyalty to the British Commonwealth. Canadians, once assured on this point, become free to throw away the chips which have been so tenderly balanced on many shoulders for a century and a half. Those moods of jealous sensitiveness and incipient hostility, which so readily flourish on the feeling that one's important neighbour is lacking both in understanding of one's views and appreciation of one's importance, and, worse still, is sometimes, apparently, even oblivious to one's presence, can be dispelled in no better way than by that neighbour's showing an intelligently flattering realization of one's position and making an active effort to inform himself in regard to one's traditions and views. In such circumstances there ceases to be justification any longer for a bristling apprehensiveness lest one be confronted by embarrassing implications of inferiority.

If the developments here recounted are flattering to Canadian self-esteem and thus calculated to remove in the Dominion certain hindrances to international goodwill, they may be expected to further it also in another way. Improved American understanding of Canada is bound to conduce to a fuller knowledge and appreciation of the British lands as a whole on the part of citizens of the Republic. For Canada has been a laboratory for the Commonwealth, alike in the matter of responsible government for colonies and in the establishment of autonomous dominions on a national scale, so that he who understands Canadian development has, in a peculiar sense, a key to an understanding of the Empire. This dominion's position, moreover, adjacent to the United States, together with such factors as similarities of physical circumstance, of racial stock, of institutions and cultural traditions in the two countries, gives Canada a unique advantage as interpreter of the Commonwealth to her neighbour.

A few years ago an American professor of history voiced the conviction that "Both 'Uncle Sam' and 'The Lady of the Snows' should teach their citizens the history of their nearest and greatest neighbour and kinsman." And he added, "It behooves 'Uncle Sam,' as slightly the elder, to set the example."<sup>1</sup> Already it can justly be said that the example has been and is being set in most praiseworthy fashion. It is being followed in Canada, too, but hardly so diligently as might be. One would fain express a hope that the day may soon come when it will be worth while for somebody to attempt a survey of the teaching, in Canadian universities, of the history of the United States, which is certainly no less important for Canadians than is Canadian history for Americans. If Canada is to play well her rôle of interpreter between the other British nations and the Republic, it behooves Canadians to seek that adequate understanding of American ideas and institutions, so like and yet so unlike their own, which can only be acquired through an appreciative study of the historical conditions from which they have evolved. And surely it should be added, however self-apparent it ought to be, that Canadians themselves cannot properly understand the history of their own land without taking into careful account not only the history of the mother lands and other countries beyond the seas, but at the same time the vitally dramatic story of the great neighbour across the border, with whose people Canada has always had in the past, and must always have in the future, relations both intimate and significant.

REGINALD G. TROTTER

<sup>1</sup>M. L. Bonham, Jr., *Some Reasons for Teaching the History of Canada in the Colleges of the United States* in *The Historical Outlook*, February, 1924.

## LORD DURHAM'S ADMINISTRATION

THE rôle for which Lord Durham conceived himself to have been cast, when he came to Canada as lord high commissioner in 1838, was one to satisfy his own dreams of magnificence. He was entrusted with large, even despotic, powers. He was to deal with a people cowed into submission by overwhelming military force. No popular assembly was there to thwart, with its obstinate factiousness, the enactment of those measures which would enure for the permanent well-being of the people. A council was imposed on him by his instructions, but it would be one of his own making.

Resolved upon creating an impression in Canada in keeping with the magnitude of his powers, Durham set about his preparations with a lavishness that provoked a protest in the House of Commons. The War Office added strength to his hands by sending out fresh troops, and he appealed to the Admiral of the Fleet for a special effort in providing a befitting naval display on the occasion of his arrival. His plan of operations was simple but splendid. He would follow hard on the trail of the conquering and devastating army, and exhibit to the awestricken inhabitants the might and beneficence of civil authority. Justice and mercy were in his hands, and they should be distributed in accordance with deserts.

But it was at this point that he made his first mistake. The essence of his plan was promptitude. He should have been ready with his blow, while the material was molten and fluid, but he allowed it to cool and harden. Instead of setting out for Canada as soon as he received his orders, he allowed a couple of months to elapse before sailing. This was unfortunate in two aspects. The news from Canada was more reassuring, and the alarm which prevailed in England, and which secured acquiescence in confiding exceptional powers to Durham, began to give way to that spirit of criticism, which it was Durham's nature to provoke. In Canada, also, time was working a change. The feelings of terror and awe, which had been produced by Colborne's stern measures, and which Durham counted upon turning to advantage, were rapidly passing into the sullenness which was the prevailing mood for the next few years.

Durham reached the basin at Quebec on May 27, and landed in the city on the 29th. With him were the three companions of his labours—Charles Buller, member of parliament for Liskeard, Thomas Edward Mitchell Turton, and Edward Gibbon Wakefield. Buller was of the utmost assistance to Durham. There was much community of outlook between them, and Buller possessed an amiability of disposition, which made him one of the few men who could work advantageously with his imperious chief. Durham's selection of his other two associates brought him little but trouble. Both had, at an earlier period of their lives, brought down on themselves the just reprobation of society. Wakefield, indeed, spent some years in prison on the charge of abduction of a minor, and Turton had appeared in an undesirable light in the divorce court. But notwithstanding their lapses, they were men of integrity as well as of great ability, and they gradually lived down the stigma, which had been cast upon them, through their misconduct. Turton advanced to a judgeship, a knighthood, and, what is perhaps most to the point, a church wardenship with the full approbation of his bishop. With Wakefield's career, we are all sufficiently acquainted to know that he, also, fully made good.

But society at large does not perhaps take sufficient account, or indeed is not quite aware, of these honourable efforts towards self-retrieval. The breaker of its conventions is held an outcast for a much longer time than either a decent charity or justice would warrant. We may deplore its severity, and, in our private stations, set ourselves to counteract it, but politicians under a popular government disregard it at their peril. When Lord Melbourne heard that Durham proposed to take Turton on his staff, he warned Durham that the appointment would meet the disapproval of the government. Without quite committing himself, Durham left Melbourne under the impression that the views of the government would be respected. When required to reconcile the placing of Turton in his Council and appointing him as one of his secretaries with the more or less explicit understanding with Melbourne, Durham had resort to a certain lack of candour, which is sometimes observed in people obstinately bent on having their own way. He affected to think that, as he paid Turton out of his own pocket, and did not place him on the civil list, the government had nothing to complain about.

In Wakefield's case, Durham found on his arrival a positive prohibition from the Colonial Office against his employing Wakefield in any way that would bring his name before the public.

When this was communicated to Wakefield, he took it in good part, and asked only for the opportunity of studying the emigration problem, in which he was greatly interested. Durham assented, and Wakefield accepted the position of adviser to the gentleman appointed as commissioner. The arrangement was advantageous for the country, as the report on immigration, which was entirely Wakefield's work, was one of the most valuable results of the mission.

Sir Charles Lucas, in the capital introduction to his edition of Durham's *Report*, thinks it a matter of regret that Durham began his work with so many preconceived opinions. However that may be, there seems scarcely a doubt that, so far as Lower Canada was concerned, the whole *Report* might have been written before Durham set foot on the wharf at Quebec. Indeed, he received the keynote of his rather imaginative description of the conditions of society in that province, while the vessel was still making its way up the St. Lawrence. Buller states that, as they were beating about in the neighbourhood of Anticosti, they received a file of Quebec newspapers. Among them was one containing an account of a meeting which was held in Quebec on May 30, to consider the question of an address to Durham on his arrival in the city. A discussion arose as to the form the address should take. It was proposed that all references to the questions at issue should be avoided, and that they should confine themselves to a respectful and congratulatory address. On such an address all, French as well as English, Canadians could combine. Objection was made that it was useless to attempt to draw up any form of address that would command the assent of all classes, for their present troubles arose from a contest between the two races. This assertion was warmly disputed by another speaker, who declared that he had never before heard such an assertion. The contest, he maintained, was not one between races, but between loyal and disloyal. This phrase—contest of races—which was emphasized by repetition, furnished Durham just what he wanted for a key note. He put an edge upon it by substituting the phrase "war of races", for "contest of races", and made it the text of which the body of the *Report* was but an expansion.

Durham's first act on arriving at Quebec was to make a clean sweep of the machinery he found there, and to replace it by a machine of his own. He removed the whole Executive and Legislative Councils, and replaced these by councils each consisting



of five members, the majority in both councils being members of his own staff. His proclamation announcing his assumption of the government, expressed confidence in the cordial support of all classes of the people, promised a sympathetic consideration of all proposals of reform of existing institutions, threatened stern measures against violators of the law or enemies of the Crown and Empire, and invited free and unreserved communication from all who had complaints and grievances to submit.

Durham was scarcely installed in his office before he was confronted by an incident which compelled him to make an effort to put our relations with the United States on a more satisfactory footing. On the day of his arrival, a number of brigands operating from the United States seized and burned the steamboat *Sir Robert Peel*, while it was taking in wood at Well's Island. This was but the last of a series of outrages committed by people from the United States border, and, apart from the actual damage done, there was springing up a state of irritation that threatened the peace between the two countries. Durham determined on decisive measures. He offered a large reward for the conviction of the guilty persons, and sent Colonel Grey, his brother-in-law, and one of his staff, to Washington to lay the matter before the president. Colonel Grey was to carry a message of goodwill to the president, to point out to him the dangers involved in these border raids, to intimate that it was Durham's duty to take all necessary measures to protect the citizens of this country from these lawless acts, and to invite the coöperation of the United States government, so far as the citizens of that country were involved. The mission was entirely successful, and the course pursued by Durham on this and on other occasions, when he came into direct contact with citizens of the United States, did much to induce a more friendly feeling on the part of the government and people of the United States towards this country.

This was Durham at his best, and it shows what he might have accomplished if considerations of a personal nature had not so often cropped up to obscure the line of his duty. After Colonel Grey had been dispatched to Washington, Durham set up several commissions of enquiry to report on the various phases of the national life, and then plunged into the ordinary work of administration with a zest for detail that was scarcely admirable in so great a functionary. Many of the things that engaged his attention would to-day have been relegated to junior clerks. The larger proportion of the despatches sent out from any offices of



government are concerned with matters either of mere routine or of petty importance, and those issuing from Durham's office were no exception. But he wrote the drafts of much the greater part of these as well as of the more important ones. An official at this distance of time cannot help wondering whether the governor-general and high commissioner could not have found subjects to engage him more befitting his great responsibilities.

As a preliminary to his remedial measures, Durham had the extremely important task of disposing of those persons, who had been responsible for the rebellion, part of whom were confined in Canadian jails, and part were fugitives dwelling in the United States. Buller in his *Sketch* observes that this was a matter wholly foreign to the true purpose of the mission, and that it had been thrown on Durham by the timidity of Colborne. This is an entirely inaccurate statement. In a despatch of March 19, the colonial secretary expressly forbade Colborne to take action in any cases of capital convictions for political offences, and in his instructions of April 21 quite as expressly charged Durham with the disposal of such cases.

Durham's plans for dealing with these difficult cases were of the first order in their conception. He realized that, of those in custody, all but a very few were mere followers and tools of their leaders, and that every consideration of sound policy demanded that they should be set at liberty. He was, also, persuaded that it would be vain to look for the conviction by the ordinary modes of the law, of those whom he deemed it necessary to bring to trial. He had no desire that they or those in the United States should suffer the penalty of death, but he was resolved that they should be harmless for evil. If the whole group were out of the country, and compelled to stay out, he would have fully achieved his object.

A confession of guilt having been obtained from the prisoners, Durham had an ordinance approved by his Special Council, condemning the prisoners to exile in Bermuda, and imposing the penalty of death on any of them, or of the fugitives in the United States, who should be found on Canadian territory without the permission of the governor.

Durham was elated with his success in the handling of this delicate business, and his gratification was fully shared by Lord Melbourne, the prime minister, and by Lord Glenelg, though both intimated a fear that his measure might not be free from legal difficulties.

But Durham was not to remain long in the enjoyment of his

triumph. His earlier indiscretion has produced its unpleasant consequences. Within a week after Turton's appointment as one of the secretaries to the general government and as a member of the Executive Council had been gazetted, Durham received letters from Melbourne and Lord John Russell, the home secretary, pointing out to him the impropriety of appointing Turton to any public office under his government. The subject was engaging some attention in political circles, and questions regarding it had been put to Melbourne in the House of Lords. Melbourne thought he was warranted in giving an assurance that Turton would not be appointed to any office in Canada. He had mentioned the matter to Durham before the departure of the latter, making strong objection to Turton's name appearing in any way in connection with the mission. Durham states that he would relinquish Turton's nomination as legal adviser, but that he would hold himself at liberty to employ him on his own responsibility and under himself on his arrival at Quebec. That the government might not anticipate him and name some person as legal adviser, Durham notified the colonial secretary that owing to the kindness of a friend (unnamed) he would be able to dispense with the services of such an officer.

Whether this was entirely satisfactory to Melbourne, we have no means of knowing, but he thought he had gained his main point, which was that while Durham might employ Turton in some personal and private capacity, Turton's name would not be identified with the mission entrusted by the government to Lord Durham. Durham was, however, an incalculable being, as none knew better than Melbourne, and while expressing his belief in the House of Lords that Turton would receive no public appointment in Canada, he deemed it well to write to Durham, and tell him plainly the government's views on the subject. When Melbourne's letter was communicated to Turton by Durham, Turton, in a letter marked by much good feeling, resigned his appointment. But Durham would not hear of it. His head was down, and he would defy Melbourne. In his reply to Melbourne, he said that the appointment had been made before the letter reached him, and he would not recede from it. The ministers, he said, are asked for no sanction or salary. Turton had no office or pay under the ministry. He was Durham's own secretary. Durham was obliged to give Turton the official title appearing in the *Gazette* in order that the latter might communicate with the lawyers in the province.

Unless Durham utterly refused to recognize his duty as a subordinate to the government, and there is much evidence that such was the case, he could not himself have been satisfied with this answer. He was well aware of the government's objection to having Turton attached to the mission, and that the question as to who paid Turton or whether he was paid at all was a matter of no moment. The registration of Turton's name in the *Gazette* as one of the secretaries of the government and as an executive councillor was the rock of offence, and an implicit violation of the pledge exacted from him by the prime minister.

Buller, who in all matters concerning Durham's credit is to be taken with more than ordinary caution, goes further than Durham ventured to go in defence of this transaction. He himself regretted Durham's course, which, as he says, was the occasion of so much subsequent annoyance and evil, but he declares that there was the clearest understanding respecting the terms upon which Turton was to go out. He says that it was distinctly arranged between the ministers and Durham that though the appointment was not to be made by ministers or in England, Mr. Turton was to go out with the party, and it was to be left to Durham to appoint him to office on his own responsibility after their arrival in Canada. Both Lord Melbourne and Lord Glenelg categorically deny that there was any such understanding, and declare that they had no knowledge that such an appointment was to be made. Lord Melbourne clinches the point in a manner that will appeal to the common sense of most of us. "If," he said, "public feeling here was such as to render it advisable that no appointment should be made here before you went, you could not suppose that it could either be satisfied or evaded by making the appointment upon the other side of the water." Melbourne did not consider it in the public interest to push the issue to an extreme, but left the subject with the expression of an assurance that Durham would not put Turton forward in any more prominent situation, or place him in any other post of trust or dignity. Durham disregarded even this injunction, for, in forming his Court of Appeal, he made Turton a member of it.

Melbourne was smarting under the castigation he had suffered at the hands of Lord Brougham, when he wrote to Durham that it was incredible that a man of common sense should show such an ignorance or such a disregard of public feeling and opinion as he had done in this instance.

The correspondence from which these quotations are made

was private and not, in the strict sense, official, but there was an interchange of despatches of an official character on the subject, which makes painful reading. On July 4, Lord Glenelg in acknowledging Durham's first despatches expressed warm approval of the proclamation, and had no criticism to make of Durham's Council, except the appointment of Turton, which was viewed by the government "with surprise and regret". An explanation was awaited. Durham retorted with a vigour which would have been effective enough as a reply in parliament, but which was quite unbecoming in a despatch to his official chief. Observing that Turton was his own secretary and not the provincial or civil secretary, and intimating that the appointment was none of the government's business, he in turn expressed his "surprise and regret" at the tone adopted by the government in the debate. While, he said, the highest situations in the Empire have been, and still are, held by those who have been convicted of the offence laid at Turton's door, it was unjust to denounce and devote to destruction the holder of a petty office merely because he was without political friends and family. Durham repeated his surprise and regret that the government did not at the outset expose the hypocrisy of the proceedings and attribute it to its true cause—the desire to embarrass political opponents and without regard for that morality which had been repeatedly violated, without compunction or remonstrance.

Glenelg made no reply at the time, but some months later, when Durham brought the matter up again, Glenelg stated that the despatch was not answered because such a correspondence would have involved a wide departure from the ordinary rules of official communications; moreover, it could not fail to cause needless pain to the individual concerned.

The note in this last phrase is so characteristic of Glenelg, that it may be worth while to turn aside from the governor-general for a moment and consider his official chief—the secretary of state. Glenelg is not one of those who have emerged triumphantly from his passage through that distressful period. It was his lot—a hard lot—to guide the course of imperial policy during a time which he described as "more arduous and more critical than any which had occurred since the war of the American Revolution." In the opinion of his contemporaries, even of his political associates, he was unequal to the great occasion, and he was virtually thrust out of office in the beginning of 1839. A review of his despatches while colonial secretary may, or may not, convince the student of

the justice of the verdict against him, but no man can rise from their perusal without feeling that he has been looking into the mind of a great gentleman. Conciliation was the key note of his policy, a key note in harmony with the dictates of his head and his heart alike. To satisfy the Canadians, he was prepared to make any sacrifice, excepting that of the honour of the Crown and the integrity of the Empire. But a policy of conciliation is the most difficult of all policies to pursue consistently. It is certain to disgust one's friends who are pining to see the foot set down resolutely, and it is apt to deceive the others, who may incline to regard it as weakness. Lord Aberdeen, noting the uncompromising and aggressive disposition of the Nationalists, suggested that it was due to Glenelg's "squeezability". Glenelg's policy had, however, the advantage that when the limits of conciliation had been reached, and sterner measures became necessary, he had put his opponents thoroughly in the wrong, and had engaged general acquiescence and sympathy when he had recourse to other methods to restore settled conditions.

Not the least of Glenelg's difficulties in the prosecution of his policy was to secure the effective coöperation of the local governors. Lord Gosford was open to no criticism in this respect, but Sir John Colborne and his successor in Upper Canada, Sir Francis Head, were in their different ways causes of great vexation. A chief anxiety of Glenelg's was to obtain full and accurate information of conditions in the Canadas. Here Colborne failed him. In accepting the governorship of Upper Canada, Colborne stepped into an atmosphere of agitation, and soon became acclimatized. When the storm raged more fiercely than usual, he was sure that it would abate before very long, and it gave him little anxiety. The consequence was that Glenelg was left in a large measure in ignorance of the extent of the disaffection in the province, and when the news reached him, he brought home to Colborne his shortcomings in terms the effect of which was heightened by their studious courtesy and moderation. Colborne resented the criticism, and in the ensuing correspondence went so far as to say that, unless Glenelg owned himself to having been unjust, he desired to have no more communication with him, either public or private, and sent in his resignation. The correspondence Glenelg declared had caused him great pain, on account of the high regard in which he held Colborne, but he was not to be moved from his position, and he restated the facts establishing Colborne's delinquency with a cogent dispassionateness that should have

carried conviction. The whole correspondence was a model of plain speaking coupled with high courtesy.

Head's failings were of a different order. He utterly disbelieved in the policy of conciliation. On one occasion he declared that "the more seriously I contemplate the political tranquillity of this province, the more steadfastly I am convinced in my opinion that cool, stern, decisive, unconciliatory measures form the most popular system of Government that can be exercised towards the free and high-minded inhabitants of the Canadas." This unpalatable doctrine he preached vivaciously to Glenelg in season and out of season, until a less selfless man would have been driven to rend him asunder. But Glenelg lent neither ear nor eye to Head's expositions of his favorite themes. His only question was, are Head's acts in accordance with his instructions? So far as they were, they received commendation, his successes gained warm praise, slight deviations from the instructions were noticed with admonitions, usually preceded by kindly words for what could be honestly commended. It was only when Head explicitly refused obedience to direct orders, that the weight of Glenelg's censure fell upon him. Here again Glenelg's admirable qualities as a man shine out. With but a passing reference to the tone of Head's despatches, he treats Head's free criticism of his policy as mere irrelevancy, and plunges into the heart of the matter, picking out the facts showing the impropriety of Head's course, and setting them out with a sort of merciless patience and grace, that would strip a man of the means of reply. For so kindly a man, Glenelg had many disagreeable duties thrust upon him by his position as colonial secretary. Before he completed his second year of office, he was compelled to recall or remove three governors in the Canadas.

The tale of Glenelg's official decapitations was not yet complete. A more distinguished head was being made ready for its fate by its perverse possessor. Before, however, setting his feet on the path which could lead to but one end, Durham gave the government at home a taste of his quality, in the special capacity in which he had been sent out. On August 9, he transmitted to the colonial secretary his preliminary report on the social and political conditions of Lower Canada. It is a very important document, since it gives in outline the views, which he expanded on this part of his subject in his *Report*. The draft in the Public Archives is in his own handwriting, a fact which excludes speculation as to the authorship of the despatch. It is a very difficult utterance to



characterize. I have read it many times, and, I think, with steadily diminishing satisfaction. As one manages, through familiarity, to withdraw himself from the glamour of Durham's impressive, confident eloquence, and recovers sufficiently to allow his common sense to resume its reign, he is apt to be at first sceptical and then hostile and perhaps unjust to Durham.

At the time Durham was putting the finishing touches on this report, the storm which had been brewing for him ever since his ill-considered action regarding Turton, burst forth with great violence. When his despatch relating the measures he had taken to restore the peace of the province reached London, great satisfaction was expressed in the government circle. Lord Melbourne at once laid before the Queen Durham's private letter to him, and Her Majesty was much gratified. He, himself, was happy that Durham had settled the very difficult question of the prisoners and settled it so well. Glenelg was equally warm in his praise. All reasonable people, here, he declared, approved of Durham's conduct. His colleagues and he himself entirely approved.

These friendly words of Durham's two official chiefs were, however, tempered by a slight misgiving. They both put warning fingers on that part of the ordinance confining the prisoners in Bermuda, and intimated that it might raise a difficulty.

This was no overstatement. The Opposition were much better primed for an effective blow, than the government were to resist it. They were informed of many details which Durham had heedlessly omitted from his despatch. The agent for the French Canadians, John Arthur Roebuck, was in constant communication with his principals in Canada, and the information he received was passed on to Brougham and his friends in the House of Lords. After a preliminary skirmish on July 31 on the part of Lords Brougham, Ellenborough, and Lyndhurst—three of the most eminent lawyers in the kingdom—, a set attack was made on the ordinance on August 7. To keep the terms of the ordinance clearly before our minds, we shall remember that it was divided into two parts. The first part condemned eight self-confessed rebels to exile in Bermuda, there to be subject to such restraints as might be necessary to prevent their return to Lower Canada. The second part prohibited the return of those who were charged with high treason and had fled the province, on pain of death in case of their unsanctioned return.

The first part, so far as it concerned the restraint of the exiles in Bermuda, was admittedly illegal. No person, not even



Durham, contended that the ordinance conferred power to hold the prisoners in the island against their will. But Brougham went further. He declared that the second part had as little legal foundation as the first. The Special Council appointed by Durham had very extended powers. But they were subject to the limitation that none of their ordinances should alter or repeal an Act of the imperial parliament. Now the Act under which treasonable offences were to be tried contained certain provisions designed to secure justice to those indicted. They were entitled to a challenge of jurors, a copy of the indictment should be furnished to each, a certain period of notice should be allowed for witnesses. All these safeguards to prisoners were swept away by the ordinance, which condemned the refugees to death, merely because of their presence on the soil of Lower Canada. The law required that the prisoners must have a trial.

Melbourne and Glenelg answered Brougham in what seems to me the only way possible. They were at a serious disadvantage. The point under discussion was one of pure law, and they were, neither of them, lawyers. Worst of all, the Crown lawyers to whom they looked for advice, assured them that the first part of the ordinance was indubitably illegal. Furthermore, an ordinance was like an egg. It could not be partly good, and partly bad. The bad part vitiated the good, and rendered the whole bad.

Glenelg asserted that it behooved the House to look at the general object and effect of Durham's proceeding. The object was to secure the peace and tranquillity of Canada, and if Durham's measures produced that effect, he deserved praise and not censure. In a measure of that importance, and in the state of things existing in Canada, it could not be expected that every minute municipal regulation was to be complied with.

Lord Melbourne gave his attention to that part of the argument which maintained that the ordinance was void, because it was beyond the powers of the Special Council to pass such a measure. He denied this, and pleaded that the House should remember the gravity of the situation with which Durham had to deal, and, unless they were prepared to demand his recall, to give him their confidence, and not to be weakening the authority of government by perpetually condemning what they did not intend to alter.

Brougham closed his speech by asking leave to introduce a bill indemnifying Durham and those associated with him against proceedings founded upon the illegality of the ordinance. The government resisted the motion, as a censure upon Durham, but

the second reading of the bill was carried against the government by a vote of 54 to 36.

On the following day the government accepted the logic of the situation. Lord Melbourne announced their decision to disallow the ordinance, and to introduce a bill to indemnify persons advising or acting under it either in Lower Canada or in the Islands of Bermuda.

This decision has been generally condemned. It has been ascribed to motives ranging over the gamut from faint-heartedness to treachery. Buller asserted that the government had betrayed Durham, and all those who recognized the outstanding importance of the *Report*, were willing to believe it must have been so. But was it so? The Melbourne government at that time lived but a precarious existence. It could count on a majority of little more than twenty in the House of Commons, and it was in a considerable minority in the House of Lords. A bill to supply the deficiency in the ordinance, that is, to legalize the confinement of the rebels in Bermuda had no chance whatever in the House of Lords and little chance in the House of Commons.

The allowance of the ordinance by the government would have added nothing to its validity unless the allowance had been sanctioned by parliament. Actions at law might have been entered by the rebels in Bermuda against all those who had advised or taken measures against them under the ordinance, and the courts would have had no option but to decide in their favour. The only thing that safeguarded the officials concerned in the deportation was the Indemnity Act which was passed. Durham maintained that the ordinance was perfectly legal, and that the part relating to Bermuda was inoperative and therefore mere surplusage to be disregarded. He held this opinion till he reached England, when his own legal counsel disabused his mind. He had a case drawn up and presented in the most favourable light, but Charles Austin, one of the most celebrated lawyers of the day and a pronounced radical, declared that the whole ordinance was invalid on account of the illegality of the Bermuda part, and that it was necessary for the government to disallow it.

There seems to be no gainsaying the opinion expressed by Charles Greville in his *Diary* that it was fortunate that the case occurred before parliament broke up, so that the necessary Acts might pass to secure Durham and all those acting under his authority from the consequences which might have arisen from the later discovery of the irregularity of his proceedings.

Let us now turn to Durham, and let us not withhold from him our deepest sympathy. He had been called upon to deal with an extremely delicate and difficult situation, and had handled it superbly. He had words of commendation from his chief, and better still from his sovereign. She had written with her own hand to congratulate him on his success. Then right on the heels of the Queen's letter came the newspaper telling him that his triumph had been made frustrate by those whose business it was to see him through in all events. It was lamentable. That the calamity was brought about by any overstepping of the law or any shortcoming on his part was a thing he refused to think about. Glenelg's announcement, couched in words of warmest sympathy, and accompanied by expressions of unabated confidence, only made matters worse. He was wounded to the quick, and his sole thought was how to wound in return.

As one reads his despatches, and studies his acts, one cannot but feel that virtue had gone out of him, and that egotism, always his besetting failing, was now in complete control.

When the news reached Canada that the ordinance was disallowed, addresses of sympathy and confidence poured in from all parts of the two provinces. These were wonderfully soothing, and were quoted triumphantly to ministers. That they were an appeal to his sense of duty towards the people of Canada never seems to have occurred to him. Those closest to him urged him to arouse himself from his torpor, and play the man, and pledged themselves that all would come out well. It was all in vain. The colonial secretary pointed out to him how the ill consequences of the disallowance might be avoided. The purpose of the ordinance was to keep out of the province certain named persons, whose presence might tend to the disturbance of the peace. Glenelg showed that this purpose could be effectually accomplished by suspending the Habeas Corpus Act, and by a proclamation to the effect that if any of these persons entered the province, they would, on being apprehended, be brought to their trial and subjected to any penalty short of death. To remove the difficulty in the way of securing the conviction of guilty parties, owing to the refusal of French-Canadian juries to give weight to incriminating evidence, Glenelg proposed the establishment of a special court to try such cases. Durham would not listen to these suggestions. They savoured, he said, too much of tyranny. He forgot for a moment that his whole government was a tyranny—he called it himself a despotism—and that its sole extenuation lay

in the confidence that he would not abuse his powers. If a person confined to prison applied for his Habeas Corpus, it was Durham who would decide whether the application should be acceded to or not. This had been his duty when he first came to Canada, for the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended at that time. As for the constitution of the special court, he had virtually admitted the necessity of some arrangement for the trial of political prisoners when he reported the failures of the jury system.

But Durham was resolved that nothing should be done so long as he was in charge to prevent the exposure of the government at home to all the obloquy which he hoped would attend the disallowance of his ordinance. That the consequences of his failure to act would all fall upon the province, which it was his duty to safeguard, mattered not at all. He would have no doubt exist anywhere as to the effect of the action of the government, and, over his own signature, advised both exiles and refugees that there was no longer any impediment to their return to the province; nor could any be enacted without the adoption of measures repugnant to his sense of justice or policy.

Buller in his *Sketch* has attempted a defence and justification of the Proclamation. He says that the effect on the public in Canada so far from being inflammatory, was precisely the opposite; that no disorder, or increase of disaffection, ensued. Durham himself furnishes his own comment on this statement. At the end of September he announced that he would return to England by way of the United States. On October 18, just nine days after the publication of the Proclamation, his secretary, Colonel Couper, was writing to Colborne stating that the menace of impending hostilities has raised a doubt in Durham's mind as to whether he should leave the province at that time.

Indeed, all the statements made by Durham that he had succeeded in restoring peace and tranquillity in Lower Canada are without foundation. He undoubtedly gained the full confidence of the British Canadians, but nothing he did mitigated the hostility of the French Canadians. Plots and conspiracies were being carried on during the whole period of his stay in Canada, not only in the Upper Province, where no attempt at concealment was made, but in the Lower Province equally. Colonel Grey, his brother-in-law, reported to him that a French Canadian leader confessed to him that recruiting had been going forward in the Richelieu district since July, 1838, and that he himself had sworn in two hundred and fifty men in one day about the beginning of August.

Durham left Quebec on November 1, and landed in Devonport on the 30th of the same month. His proceedings in England did not escape criticism, but he nowhere escaped criticism. Mr. Chesterton in one of his books maintained that, as some men were born to be murderers, there were others born to be murdered. Durham was one of those who was born to be criticized. In the memoirs of the time, in which judgments are passed on characters, some are praised, some are blamed, but through them all, wherever Durham's name crops up, there comes to be a sort of monotony in the censure and ridicule which greets his appearance, his gestures, and his words. He seemed to be but living out his destiny.

But fortunately for his fame, and also for the interests of Canada and indeed all other of the colonial possessions of Great Britain, Durham had another besides the ungrateful task of administering the government of Canada. How great was the anxiety of the whole colonial empire as to the contents of Durham's *Report*, and how universal were the outpourings with which it was received are manifested in Wakefield's exultant statement that the *Report* "has now gone the round, from Canada, through the West Indies and South Africa, to the Australias, and has everywhere been received with acclamations."

WILLIAM SMITH

## A FORERUNNER OF JOSEPH HOWE

**I**N the valuable collection of historical documents, accumulated by the late Dr. Thomas Beamish Akins, and now resting in the Legislative Library at Halifax, there is a probably unique crown octavo pamphlet of just twenty-one pages.<sup>1</sup> Rather carelessly printed in pica type on a poor quality paper, it is, nevertheless, in good condition. Its margins are clipped close by the binder's shears, and it shows the mellow brown tint of age. On its dirty title-page, the only one which has been soiled, are the following words, corrected here and there in an illegible hand:

A|LETTER|TO THE|PEOPLE OF HALIFAX|CONTAINING|STRICT-  
URES|on the conduct of the Magistrates with regard to Police  
Office, Court of Quarter Session, Work House, Poor House, Jail,  
&c.,|ALSO|STRICTURES on the Court of Commissioners, Supreme  
Court, &c.,|ALSO|STRICTURES on his Majesty's Council and House  
of Assembly, Bank Bill, Militia, issuing Tickets for Flats, Digby  
Election, raising the Pay, &c., &c.|BY A NOVA-SCOTIAN|Printed for  
the Author|1820|

This pamphlet was issued from the press of Anthony H. Holland, who, besides printing *The Acadian Recorder*, made his own paper at a mill built in 1819 at the head of Bedford Basin, near the opening of the Hammonds Plains road.<sup>2</sup> He was a man who sympathized with any attempt at reform, and, in 1818, had been summoned to the bar of the assembly for publishing in his paper a severe innuendo against Edward Mortimer, one of the county representatives. He had been thereupon subjected to a short imprisonment, so that when he dared to print the attack contained in this more strongly worded brochure, he was again running a decided risk.

"A Nova-Scotian" was later found to be one William Wilkie Of Wilkie and his family but little is known. He was, in 1820, a young man, certainly well educated, and just a little conceited, with a young man's enthusiasm for reform. That he possessed

<sup>1</sup>The Akins' Collection, Vol. CXXVII.

<sup>2</sup>Thomas Beamish Akins, *The History of Halifax City* (Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, Vol. VIII, Halifax, 1895), 189.



more than a young man's share of determination, coolness, and effrontery, is shown by his later behaviour. He was of a respectable, if not wealthy, family, descended from a sea-captain who made Halifax his port of call, and who, sailor-fashion, settled near the sea when his sailing days were done. In the contemporary newspapers there is mention of a Wilkie who was master of the brig *Harmony* sailing to Bermuda.<sup>1</sup> Since there is no record of the name as late as 1815, it may be that he and the founder of the family are identical. Another, W. C. Wilkie, was a reputable merchant. Yet another, in the memory of living Haligonians, resided at the corner of Brunswick and Hurd Streets. This was an eccentric old spinster, whose hobby was cats.

It would seem that in publishing his pamphlet Wilkie was stirred by no selfish motives but rather by the bad conditions prevailing in Halifax at the time.

The pamphlet is a clumsy document, full of bombastic phrases which at times evince a grim, if unintentional, humour. In spite of its crudeness, however, it was carefully planned. There are three main divisions: an introduction, "To the people of Halifax, Gentlemen"; the attack proper, in the form of a letter; and a conclusion, or rather peroration, under the heading "General Remarks".

The introduction is shorter and more carefully worded than the rest, but is misleading in that it defines too narrowly the scope of the letter. Wilkie has, he says, "undertaken the task of displaying in a very small compass, how woefully and wilfully the taxes have been misapplied." How far he goes beyond these bounds can be seen from the title-page. He has amplified his brochure on the misapplication of the taxes into a general attack on the whole system of government in Nova Scotia. Probably Wilkie began writing with a very modest intention, but thought of additional matter as he proceeded, and then forgot to go back and correct his introduction.

The first part, containing "strictures" on the magistrates, is the most important. Dr. Akins, in his *History of Halifax City*,<sup>2</sup> implies that it was for this that Wilkie later was tried. The pamphlet's first criticism is of the Police Office and of the magistrates who through it had control of all civic institutions. A characteristic passage runs thus: "This Police Office, to do it

<sup>1</sup>*Nova Scotia Gazette*, Feb. 23, 1820.

<sup>2</sup>Thomas Beamish Akins, *The History of Halifax City*, 195.

justice, I must call it a scene and sink of iniquity, infamy, corruption, and pollution; and calls loudly for a reform in the most essential branches of it." The magistrates of the time, Wilkie points out, received 2,713 pounds in rents each year, and this amount should have been sufficient for all expenses. Yet, in addition, the taxes brought in the "immense" sum of 7,076 pounds, which could not be accounted for. "True it is they will tell you, you may go before the grand jury, and there see an account of the expenditure." He hopes, however, that nobody will "run the risque of being torn in pieces by these ruffians of municipal authority."

Wilkie next attacks the administration of justice. For the most trivial offences men were sent to the Bridewell or workhouse. The Bridewell, he states, is

a place expressly declared for the reception and confinement of the most notorious *thieves* and *vagabonds*: and if *all* such characters were sent there, so many of our magistrates would not be seen every day parading about the court house and other public places.

In 1818, three men, Caton, Cashen, and Coleman, had been found guilty of assault. The two latter were sentenced to six months' imprisonment, and Caton, to a fine of twenty-five pounds. When unable to pay, he was imprisoned, but after a few days he bought his release from the magistrates for ten pounds, and was told:

Had we have known, that you had been possessed of any monies you never should have been sentenced to confinement, as we would rather receive pecuniary compensation for these misdemeanours, than personal, or solitary confinement.

Wilkie gives this story as a single example of many such incidents, and directly accuses the magistrates of stealing the money thus obtained.

The magistrates also had given no account of all the money received from that "place of great fame and uncommon celebrity," the workhouse. For its upkeep the people were taxed eleven hundred and forty pounds. The excess of the prisoners' earnings over the cost of their maintenance was more than a pound per day, which should make any additional tax unnecessary. To use Wilkie's quaint words: "Now through what deep and dark mazes of iniquity, corruption and infamy, could the *great* and *good* men have tax'd the inhabitants of this town such an enormous sum?" In 1818, the magistrates had given further proof of their dis-

honesty by taxing the people two thousand pounds for an addition to the jail which, up to the time of Wilkie's writing, had been used only once. Certain women of the town, friends of the magistrates, had been accommodated there! It stood vacant, a white elephant, while next door "In winter's cold or summer's scorching heat, by day light and by candle light, are all the poor *unfortunate* debtors crowded together in *one* room, without distinction to age, colour or character." It was a recognized practice at this time for jailers to extort extra fees from the unfortunates under their charge. For a long time the Halifax jailer had received additional pay for the express purpose of preventing this abuse. Yet, according to Wilkie, he still continued to exact his unjust tolls, and even took the clothes of the prisoners who were unable to pay.

If this criticism be true, or even partly true, Wilkie may well be justified when he says in his grandiloquent style:

But I now pledge myself by all that is sacred and dear to me here and hereafter, that when it is in my power, I will bring them to the public and patriotic bar of justice to my country, and there reduce them to their penitentials, for having thus coercively plundered the pockets of the laborious labourer. Nay, I will go further. I will so punish them that they themselves shall acknowledge in their hours of tribulation, that tho' a *nolle prosequi* might have screened them from the bar of justice, yet the unknown hand of a minister of vengeance has hunted them out, behind the seven fold shield of *mighty* patronage. I will go further and say to the magistrates in the name of the people of this province, that we are governed by a set of drivellers, from whom we can expect no remedy, but in *poison*, no relief but in *death*.

The rest of the pamphlet gives a no less unpleasant picture of the condition of the courts and general administration of the province. The charge for receiving a judgment in the court of commissioners was about twelve shillings, and "if you sue for ten pounds the amount of the expenses is the same." Thus, the people, especially the poor, preferred to lose small amounts, rather than seek redress in the courts. As a remedy, Wilkie suggests that thirty-six gentlemen take turns in acting as judges, and give their services free "for the benefit of their fellow citizens."

Although it had not been enforced for many years in Halifax the legal penalty for burglary was death. Wilkie urges that, for the sake of appearances at least, the law be either repealed or strictly enforced.

His last criticism of the jurisdiction of the province is significant. A lawyer before the supreme court might move for a special jury, and if on the day appointed twelve jurors did not attend he might refuse to have the number completed by talesmen. The trial would then be adjourned until the next term, when the lawyer would repeat the manoeuvre. After several repetitions his client was bound to be discharged. Wilkie tells an amusing story to illustrate the incompetence of special juries. In a trial before the supreme court the jury, after retiring for several hours, returned the following verdict: "If the parties will agree to pay each of them half the expenses attending this suit, *then* we have come to a decision." The courtroom was in an uproar, and at last the jury was dismissed, "to the entire satisfaction of judges, lawyers, and audience."

The last part of the letter contains Wilkie's strictures on the general administration of the province in the hands of the council and the house of assembly.

The primary fault of the council was that its members were too wealthy. For a long time the citizens had felt the necessity for a bank in Halifax. When at last the assembly had passed a bill providing for its establishment the council had promptly vetoed the measure, on the representation, so they said, of "respectable" merchants. Wilkie's opinion of such merchants is amusing:

little, paltry, peddling fellows, vendors of two penny wares and falsehoods, who, under the idea of trade, sell everything in their power, honour, trust, and conscience . . . they are men, who have no lasting attachment, but at the shrine of mammon.

He declares that the council vetoed the bill because it "effectually annihilated their own interests." Finally, he blames the council for holding its meetings in secret.

His opinions of the assembly, he continues, are trustworthy because he has watched its proceedings with a "vestal's vigilance." A Mr. Roach had been elected for the county of Digby by a single vote. Mr. Ritchie, a candidate with Mr. Robie for the office of Speaker, had requested Mr. Roach's vote, and on being refused brought witnesses against him from Digby. Though Wilkie does not give their evidence, or the reason for which Mr. Ritchie summoned them, it appears that the assembly, for some insufficient reason, ordered a new election, in which Mr. Roach refused to run. "If these acts are those allowed to be practised, the original idea

of the people choosing representatives will be lost, for the *majority* of the house, choose the *minority*."

Wilkie's humour crops out again in his account of the refusal of the assembly to pass a bill limiting the activities of quack doctors.

The House of Assembly have also rejected a bill to put a stop to quackery, which is practised on the unthinking and ignorant part of the community, by people calling themselves physicians, surgeons, &c. Perhaps the members thought that, as they followed quackery in the *political* line, they ought also to encourage it in the *healing* one. If a bill of this kind is not carried into effect, I expect to see the *barber* lay down one bleeding instrument which is his *razor*, and take up the lance as a substitute; and the *cobbler* lay down his awl and paring knife, and take up the *probing* pin and dissecting knife; and all this practised with impunity.

His final, and perhaps his least sensible, attack upon the assembly is on the matter of representation. The number of the members had not changed with increasing population, and so "a great many freeholders pay taxes without being *represented*." Wilkie's obviously absurd reasoning was that, if the population increased by ten thousand without the number of the members increasing correspondingly, these extra ten thousand were unrepresented. Though it may be a disadvantage to have more scoundrels in the house, still he "thinks that the *worst* sheep in the flock have already been chosen," and that the new members may "abolish remuneration for such an honourable place for ever." Wilkie was probably thinking of the convening of the first assembly in 1758, when the members by their own decision served without salary for two years.

The "General Remarks" contain nothing of great importance. Wilkie's information had been gained from tradesmen in the town who were "competent judges of what is going on." There is an interesting reference here to Dalhousie College.

I have just now been informed that the commissioners and builders of the college, erecting in the grand parade, are putting the people to a very unnecessary expense in building *unnecessary walls* around it, which must be pulled down in the spring and that the carpenters' work is doing at an *exorbitant* rate in consequence of its not being done by contract: which is certainly the cheapest and fairest way of doing all public and *I believe* private work.

At the spring assizes of the supreme court William Wilkie was

summoned to account for his attack upon the magistrates. There were two methods by which a person accused of libelling a public body might be arraigned: by bill of indictment, or by *ex officio* information. By bill of indictment the attorney-general submitted the alleged libellous matter to the grand jury, who decided whether there were sufficient grounds for a trial. By *ex officio* information, the attorney-general himself decided whether a trial were necessary, and presented the alleged libellous matter *ex officio*. As a public libel concerned the general peace of the country, in either alternative the crown was the prosecutor, not the persons against whom the libel had been directed. In this case the first method was adopted, and, a true bill having been found by the grand jury, Wilkie was brought to trial on Monday, April 17, 1820, on a charge of criminal libel. A brief account of the trial, too favourable to the magistrates, is given in the *Nova Scotian Royal Gazette*,<sup>1</sup> which had been published since 1801 by John Howe, the father of the more famous Joseph. The *Halifax Journal* copied the account.<sup>2</sup>

Although the newspapers did not pay much attention to the trial, the great interest taken in it throughout Halifax proves that Wilkie was expressing the feelings of many of his fellow-citizens. Dr. Akins, who was alive in 1820, and whose account is probably more trustworthy than that of a government newspaper, says that it "caused much excitement."<sup>3</sup> The mere fact that he devotes a long paragraph in his usually sketchy *History of Halifax City* to the occurrence shows that it was an event of more than ordinary importance. His apparent sympathy with Wilkie, in spite of his rabid old-world toryism, is no less significant.

The case for the prosecution was opened by S. G. W. Archibald, who was even then one of Halifax's most influential citizens, and a member of the house of assembly. He took little time in discussing the alleged libel, but concerned himself chiefly with pointing out the danger that would result to the public peace if such attacks were allowed to go unpunished. His speech, according to the newspaper report, was marked by "the gentlemanly moderation of language preserved throughout."

Wilkie was allowed to challenge the jury and conduct his own defence. He admitted freely that he was the author of the pam-

<sup>1</sup>*Ibid.*, 223.

<sup>2</sup>The *Halifax Journal*, April 24, 1820.

<sup>3</sup>Thomas Beamish Akins, *The History of Halifax City*, 195.



phlet complained of, but instead of resting his case there, he effectually extinguished any hope of acquittal by continuing his attack on the authorities in language even more offensive than the pamphlet itself. The motive for this behaviour, or indeed, for writing the pamphlet at all, is perplexing. He himself said that he undertook the work because "so many complaints have arisen, with regard to the improper expenditure of the taxes levied annually upon you and as I know these complaints to be founded on facts." Though this may have been his ostensible reason there must have been something else to urge him on. That he wrote to avenge some personal wrong he denies in his introduction. "I have been actuated by no malice or vindictive feelings against any man or set of men, but on the contrary, to give them their merits if they possess any." That he wrote quite dispassionately, or simply to draw attention to himself, is equally improbable. He must have anticipated the only result that was likely to follow from such violent language as he had employed, for the imprisonment of Holland just two years before must have been fresh in his memory. The logical, and, it would seem, the only explanation is that affairs in the province were so bad that Wilkie was past caring for anything that could happen to him, provided only that he could expose the responsible officials.

The charge to the jury was delivered by the venerable Chief Justice Sampson Salter Blowers, who was also president of His Majesty's council.<sup>1</sup> Thus the man who assisted in making the laws also applied them, a thing contrary to all theories of good government. Chief Justice Blowers was a Loyalist lawyer from Boston, who had settled in Halifax in 1785. It has been said of him that he never wore an overcoat and yet lived to be one hundred years old. It would seem, from Akins' account, that on this occasion the old chief justice departed somewhat from the traditional impartiality of the bench, and descended to personal recrimination. He ended his address, however, by telling the jury to acquit Wilkie if they honestly thought that he had written with an eye to the public good.

After only a few minutes' deliberation the jury returned a verdict of guilty, and on the following Wednesday William Wilkie was sentenced to two years at hard labour in the House of Correction. "This was esteemed a most tyrannical and cruel

<sup>1</sup>*The Nova Scotia Calendar for Town and County for the year of Human Redemption, 1820.*

proceeding on the part of the Government."<sup>1</sup> The chief justice "humanely" told the prisoner that, if, at the expiration of one year, he were satisfied that the prisoner's habits were corrected, he would himself see that the remainder of the sentence was remitted. There is no record as to whether he did so or not. William Wilkie, after a brief appearance upon the stage, passed again into obscurity. But his name, though long forgotten by his fellow-townsmen, should be honoured as that of a martyr to the cause of freedom.

GEORGE V. V. NICHOLLS

<sup>1</sup>Thomas Beamish Akins, *The History of Halifax City*, 195.

## NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

### THE RECIPROCITY NEGOTIATION WITH THE UNITED STATES IN 1869

THERE have been many negotiations between Canada and the United States on the subject of commercial reciprocity, and the documentary evidence as to the nature and extent of each negotiation can usually be consulted either in the Ottawa reports or in those of Washington. But the efforts made in 1869 by the Hon. John Rose, then minister of finance for Canada (subsequently Sir John Rose, Bart., of Morton, Rose and Co., Bankers, London, England) could not be investigated, because the negotiations were confidential and the papers were never printed. A political controversy over the matter took place in the Canadian House of Commons in 1870, and was several times referred to in after years. The point of the dispute was whether the government of Sir John Macdonald had been willing in 1869 to base a treaty of commerce upon free trade in manufactured goods as well as in natural products. When, in process of time, the party, led by Sir John Macdonald, became advocates of a protective tariff, the charge possessed some significance. It was denied, but no proofs to the contrary were forthcoming.

In a debate in the Commons on March 16, 1870, the Hon. L. S. Huntington, discussing his motion in favour of a customs union, complained of the government's reticence on the subject and enquired if there was not "a proposition that the manufactures of both countries should be admitted duty free." Rose had gone to England to reside, and the minister of finance was Sir Francis Hincks. He declined to make a statement. Huntington continued:

Then I may tell the hon. gentleman something more; I know something about this matter of which I am talking; I know something about the memorandum entered into between the contracting parties, in regard to the preliminary negotiations, and I have my information from sources which I believe to be reliable and trustworthy. And I say that in the preliminary negotiations between

Hon. Mr. Rose and Mr. Secretary Fish, it was agreed that the manufactures of both countries should be admitted duty free and hon. gentleman cannot deny it.

Sir Francis Hincks, in replying, stated that the honourable gentleman had been totally misinformed. All communications that passed between Thornton, Rose, and Fish were of a strictly confidential character, but not because it was so desired by the government of Canada. Further references were made to the subject and Sir John Macdonald confirmed what the minister of finance had said. But as no papers were produced, the charge was made several times subsequently. When the Hon. George Brown, who had negotiated a commercial treaty, which the Senate of the United States refused to endorse, addressed the Canadian Senate on March 8, 1875, he made the following statement:

In 1869 formal negotiations were entered into with the American Government and the *projet* of a treaty was presented for discussion. The negotiations continued from July, 1869, to March, 1870. This *projet* included the cession for a term of years of our fisheries to the United States; the enlargement and enjoyment of our canals; the free enjoyment of the navigation of the St. Lawrence River; the assimilation of our customs and excise duties; the concession of an import duty equal to the internal revenue taxes of the United States; and the free admission into either country of certain manufactures of the other.

As George Brown's abortive treaty included certain manufactures, as well as natural products, he referred approvingly to the previous attempt. The subjoined documents now exhibit in detail for the first time exactly what the terms of 1869 were. In brief, the Rose memorandum suggested that the list of natural products might "be added to by both parties and may embrace certain articles of manufacture." The secrecy observed was at the request of the United States.

A. H. U. COLQUHOUN

[*Transcript.*]

Mr. Thornton to the Earl of Clarendon.—

Washington, July 12, 1869

My Lord,

In consequence of the invitation which I had addressed to Sir John Young, Mr. John Rose, Minister of Finance of the Dominion of Canada,

arrived here on the 8th instant, for the purpose of conferring with the Secretary of State of the United States, upon the subject of a new Reciprocity Treaty with regard to Canada, between Great Britain and the United States.

We had our first interview with Mr. Fish on that day, and I have the honour to inclose a Report drawn up by Mr. Rose, of what took place at it. Mr. Fish was more than usually silent, and difficult to draw out upon the subject we had in hand; and I was obliged to remind him that it was he who had invited me to confer with him, and that it was with his acquiescence that I had requested Sir John Young to send a gentleman from Canada. It was, however, impossible to persuade Mr. Fish that the Resolution of the House of Representatives which authorized the Executive to negotiate for commercial intercourse with Canada, empowered it to come to an arrangement for a reduction or abolition of certain import duties. It was at length agreed that we should speak to the Secretary of the Treasury on the subject; and for that purpose Mr. Fish invited us to dine with him on the next day to meet Mr. Boutwell.

But as other persons also dined with Mr. Fish, there was no opportunity for discussion; and in the little that was said, Mr. Boutwell confirmed the opinion already expressed by Mr. Fish, that the Resolution of the House of Representatives did not empower the Executive to make an arrangement with regard to import duties.

Mr. Rose and I, however, determined that we would pay another visit to Mr. Fish at the State Department, and we agreed in the meantime to draw up a memorandum of the different points upon which a new Reciprocity Treaty might be negotiated, and which we would seek an opportunity of reading to Mr. Fish.

On the 10th instant. Mr. Rose and I again waited upon the Secretary of State. I have the honour to inclose a copy of a report of the interview drawn up by Mr. Rose, with one or two trifling additions by myself, acquiesced in by Mr. Rose, as also copy of the memorandum to which it refers. I did not fail to point out to Mr. Fish that any arrangement which might be hereafter concluded would be subject to the approval of Her Majesty's Government, and that if all the points contained in the memorandum should be embodied in a Treaty, there would be some of them which would also require the sanction of Parliament.

Mr. Rose, finding that no further progress could be made for the present, left Washington last night on his return to Canada, and as agreed upon with him, I this day delivered to the Secretary of State a copy of the inclosed memorandum, which he begged might be considered as an informal and confidential communication. Mr. Fish told me at the same time that he did not expect to be able to do much in the matter until the

Congress shall meet in December next, because he wished to consult upon the subject with the Senate Committee for Foreign Affairs, and the House Committee of Ways and Means, the Members of which are now spread over the world, Mr. Schenk, the Chairman of the latter, being at this moment in Europe and perhaps in England.

On the whole, Mr. Rose and I did not expect to make more progress than we have done, and we consider Mr. Fish's tone upon the subject as, in general, satisfactory.

I have, &c.  
(signed) EDWD. THORNTON

[Inclosure 1.]

MEMORANDUM OF CONFERENCE HELD WITH MR. FISH ON THE QUESTION  
OF RECIPROCITY BETWEEN CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES,  
JULY 8, 1869

On his arrival in Washington, on the 8th of July, 1869, Mr. Rose waited on Mr. Thornton, and after some conversation of a general character on the points referred to in the Resolution of the House of Representatives, they together proceeded to the Department of State, where they were received by Mr. Secretary Fish.

Mr. Thornton informed the Secretary that Mr. Rose had come in accordance with the request contained in his despatch to the Governor-General of Canada, written in consequence of the note of Mr. Secretary Fish, and that he and Mr. Thornton were now prepared to enter informally on the discussion with a view of devising means for completing a satisfactory arrangement of the several matters embraced in the Resolution of the House of Representatives.

Mr. Fish stated that he was anxious that these matters should be adjusted to the mutual advantage of both countries; that he presumed the question of the fisheries and the navigation of the St. Lawrence, would necessarily be the subject of Treaty stipulations with Great Britain, and that it was desirable that the element of permanence should attach to any arrangement that might be come to in reference to them; that with reference to the subject of trade and commercial intercourse between the Dominion and the United States, he apprehended that the House of Representatives would be reluctant to permit any questions affecting the revenue to be dealt with by Treaty, and that any assumption by the Executive of that power might delay, if it did not defeat, the object; that he considered it would be impolitic to take any step which might by possibility have the effect of frustrating arrangements, and that his



wish was that any negotiations which might be entered on should be carried to a successful termination and meet with the approval of the people of the two countries.

Mr. Rose replied that the British Government had given instructions to Her Majesty's Representative at Washington, some years ago, to act in concert with Canada in these matters, and Mr. Thornton stated that he was present as British Minister in accordance with these instructions.

Mr. Rose further added that he had no doubt that if arrangements satisfactory to Canada could be come to on the subject of the commercial intercourse between the two countries, Canada would be willing to make such provisions touching the fisheries and the navigation and improvement of the St. Lawrence and other inland waters of Canada, as would be acceptable to, and be readily embodied by Her Majesty's Government in a Treaty between it and the United States. That he concurred with the Secretary in the opinion that the character of permanency should be given to any stipulation regarding the fisheries and the navigation of the St. Lawrence and inland waters of Canada; but he, Mr. Rose, also thought that the like character of permanency should attach to the arrangements in respect to commercial intercourse between the two countries, for without such element of permanency it would be impossible for the people of either country to make such arrangements as would insure to them the full benefit of the provisions that might be made. That touching the reluctance of the House of Representatives to permit any question affecting the revenue to be dealt with by Treaty, while it was not his province to make any comment on the relative measure of power which the several branches of the State might constitutionally exercise, he, Mr. Rose, ought to remark that it would seem by the terms of the resolution of the Committee of ways and means which had been adopted by the House that that body had actually delegated to the Executive the duty, certainly of initiating, apparently of carrying to completion by Treaty, the arrangements respecting commercial intercourse, inasmuch as it was well known that such arrangements were inseparable from those touching the navigation or fisheries, that any concessions to the United States on the two latter points were, in fact, dependent on what might be done by the United States to liberalize the relations with Canada and the Provinces not yet embraced in the Dominion, in matters of trade.

Mr. Thornton remarked that it appeared that by the Resolution the Executive had been constituted the proper medium through whom negotiations should be had and carried to completion, and that he, besides, understood informally in the House of Representatives when

the Resolutions were passed, that though some members of the Committee had at one time been averse to negotiate in the sense of liberalizing the commercial relations, they had ultimately given in their adhesion to what appeared to him (Mr. Thornton) the obvious spirit of the Resolution.

Mr. Rose trusted that some means might be found of overcoming the difficulty in the way of procedure that had been suggested by the Secretary, since it appeared to be the wish of the House of Representatives that negotiations should be carried on by the Executive in the sense conveyed by the Resolution. He further observed, that though Canada fully appreciated the advantage which would be conferred on both countries by a settlement of these questions, and the liberalizing of their commercial intercourse, it must not be supposed that the prosperity of Canada was dependent on it. That the Canadian people were fully aware of the advantages which their position geographically, as the produce of lumber, grain, and agricultural products, &c., nearest to the great consuming points of the United States, gave them; and he remarked that, irrespective of the United States' market, her people had already opened up new markets for their surplus products. He by no means undervalued, but, on the contrary, placed a high estimate on the advantage of free commercial intercourse, not only in reference to the material prosperity of the two countries which was thereby promoted, but on higher considerations. But he wished to call the attention of the Secretary of State to one or two points which might have a material bearing on the views of the American Government. It might not be known that since the repeal of the Reciprocity Treaty, Canada had made no material change in her policy in reference to her commercial relations with the United States; she felt the force of the events which had led the United States to terminate the Treaty, and made due allowance for them, believing that time and changed circumstances would bring about a renewal of the former relations; that, acting in this spirit, her Government had, notwithstanding the urgent pressure of many interests, resisted anything like retaliatory measures; and that she had continued to allow the United States the use of the fisheries on terms practically free, although provincial-caught fish were subject to very heavy duties when imported into the United States. The navigation of the St. Lawrence was also practically free to the United States, but Canadian vessels entering American ports on the Lakes were subject to onerous charges. American flour, indian corn, hops, salt, coal, agricultural products, and many other articles, were subject to no duty on their admission to Canada, while those of Canada had to pay duties when imported into the United States which were practically prohibitory. Canada had, also, in the interval used her

friendly offices to prevent illicit trade springing up on the border. Mr. Rose thought it was only candid to say that with the most friendly intentions it would be impossible for the Government of Canada to continue the former policy on these questions if the present attempt to adjust the international difficulties and the commercial relations of the two countries was unsuccessful. The Secretary was, doubtless, fully alive to the difficulties that might attend a line of policy based wholly on the consideration of self-interest, which circumstances would in that event compel Canada to pursue.

Mr. Fish replied that he had been informed that illicit trade was carried on to a considerable extent on the frontier, and that the provincial fishermen were not indisposed to turn their catch to profitable account by disposing of them to American owners; and asked on what terms Canada would expect her fish to be admitted into the United States.

Mr. Thornton stated that it seemed to him the question was, what commercial concessions the United States were prepared to extend for the other equivalents which Canada had to offer. It seemed to him but fair that if Canada opened her fisheries to the United States, that Government ought in its turn to admit Canadian fish on terms equally free; and Mr. Thornton concluded by inquiring what course, under the circumstances, the Secretary of State was disposed to recommend in reference to the negotiations.

Mr. Fish stated that he thought it better to have a conference with the Secretary of the Treasury on these matters, and proposed a meeting for Friday the 9th, which was agreed to, and Mr. Thornton and Mr. Rose took their leave accordingly.

[*Inclosure 2.*]

#### MEMORANDUM

Friday, 10th July.—The communications today were of an informal character, and it was arranged that Mr. Thornton and Mr. Rose should meet the Secretary of State to-morrow at 1 o'clock.

Saturday, 11th July.—At the Conference this day Mr. Fish inquired whether any suggestion as to the course of proceeding had occurred to Mr. Thornton or Mr. Rose, and he expressed his regret that Congress was not in Session, as the means of ascertaining the views of that Body were at the present moment beyond his reach; and that without communication with them it would be difficult to arrive at conclusions, the acceptability of which, to the people at large, would be necessary to the satisfactory working and permanence of any arrangements.

Mr. Thornton stated that in the interval since the last Conference,

Mr. Rose had prepared a paper somewhat in the nature of a Protocol, which seemed to anticipate the difficulty the Secretary had suggested, but that he, Mr. Thornton, still thought that the Resolution of the House had delegated to the Executive the duty of conducting negotiations. Mr. Rose called attention to the terms of the Resolution, which seemed to affirm the principle of reciprocity in matters of trade, and which specifically enjoined on the Executive to renew negotiations and press them, if possible, to a definite conclusion. But as the Secretary had expressed a wish not to raise this constitutional question, he, Mr. Rose, would suggest that a basis for future action in reference to the settlement of details should now be arrived at and that the complete adjustment of details should take place as soon as the Secretary of State was able to avail himself of the communication he desired to have with members of the two Houses of Congress. The paper, embodying in general terms the leading features of the proposed Treaty, had been prepared in that sense,—the general indication of the articles to be embraced in the Schedule which it was proposed each country should exchange freely, embracing those enumerated in the former Treaty.

Mr. Fish replied that he thought that under existing circumstances it would probably be necessary to have two Schedules—one a Free List, and the other embracing articles which might have to be subject to certain rates of duty. He then requested that the paper might be read.

Mr. Rose wished it to be understood as being subject in all respects to the approval of the Government of Canada, and Mr. Thornton made a similar statement with regard to Her Majesty's Government.

The annexed paper was then read, and the articles discussed seriatim; some alterations were made in the progress of the discussion, and the propositions were ultimately reduced to the terms set forth in the paper. Before the paper was read, Mr. Thornton said that British Columbia would probably wish to be included in any Treaty of the nature proposed, although he had not as yet received precise instructions upon the point. Mr. Fish, though he did not commit himself, offered no objections to this indication.

After some further discussion Mr. Fish and Mr. Thornton concurred in the course of proceeding suggested, and both these gentlemen thought it would be better in the meantime that the paper should be placed informally in the possession of the Secretary of State.

Mr. Fish stated he would take early occasion to place himself in communication with the parties whose views he desired to ascertain, and then another Conference would be arranged. He inquired when the Parliament of Canada met, and Mr. Rose stated that it probably would not be before the month of January or February next.

Mr. Fish then remarked that that would give ample time for further conference and negotiations, and afford him in the interval the opportunity he desired of conferring fully on the subject. It was then arranged that the paper in question should be engrossed and transmitted by Mr. Thornton to Mr. Fish, and that the latter would communicate with Mr. Thornton as soon as ever circumstances permitted the negotiations to be resumed.

Mr. Thornton and Mr. Rose then retired.

[*Inclosure 3.*]

#### MEMORANDUM

Submitted as the basis of proposed arrangements on the subject of the Navigation of the St. Lawrence and the other Inland Waters of British North America, the Fisheries belonging to British North America, and the Trade Relations between the United States of America, the Dominion of Canada, and the Provinces of British North America, to be embodied in a Treaty between the United States of America and Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, &c., to be subject to such Ratifications and Approval on the part of the United States, the Government of Her Britannic Majesty, and the Governments of the Dominion of Canada, and of the British North American Provinces, as may be proper and customary.

1. Provided, and on condition that arrangements satisfactory to Canada and the Provinces of British North America, in reference to the interchange of their natural productions with the United States of America, as hereinafter specified in Article 5, are made, the United States of America shall have the same rights in respect of the fisheries in the waters of British North America, both maritime and inland, as they enjoyed under the former Reciprocity Treaty, with such extensions thereof as may be necessary under the altered circumstances of the present time.

2. That, subject to the like proviso and condition, the same rights of navigation on the St. Lawrence, as existed under the former Treaty, and corresponding rights on the other inland waters of British North America, shall be extended to the citizens of the United States, on corresponding rights being extended to Canada as to the navigation of the inland waters of the United States; and Canada will be prepared to enter into arrangements with the view of improving the access to the Ocean by the enlargement and deepening of her canals, on proper assurance of

the permanency of the reciprocal commercial intercourse hereinafter mentioned, and that the trade of the Western States will be left free to seek its natural channels, and be not diverted elsewhere by legislation.

3. That, subject to like condition and proviso, Canada will be prepared to consider the questions:—

(a) Of the existing laws regulating the whole coasting trade, with the view of opening it to the citizens of both countries when corresponding concessions are made by the United States;

(b) Of the patent and copyright laws now in force with the object of placing them on a liberal and reciprocal footing;

(c) The present Extradition Treaties, with the view of making the principle of extradition applicable to all crimes except those of a political nature.

4. That the transit trade across the territories of the United States and of Canada respectively shall be free and unrestricted, and be subject to no other charges than such as may be necessary for the protection of the revenue of each country, and these mutual privileges shall be secured by Treaty or Legislation.

5. That Canada and the United States will exchange during, such term of years as may hereafter be agreed upon, the natural productions of the sea, forest, mines, and of agriculture, and animals and their products on reciprocal terms, as nearly free of duty as possible.

The articles enumerated in the Schedule attached to the former Reciprocity Treaty shall form the basis of the new arrangements, but the list may be added to by both parties and may embrace certain articles of manufacture.

The measure of duty, if any, to have for its basis the internal taxation of the United States on the several articles that may be included in the Schedule.

6. That, provided Canada accept the arrangements in the foregoing articles, that Dominion undertakes to adjust the excise duty on spirits, beer, tobacco, and other cognate articles on the best revenue standard, which, after due and mature consideration of the subject by the proper officers of both countries, may be mutually agreed on, and Canada will use every legitimate means by extending the co-operation of her officers both of Customs and Excise and otherwise, to prevent illicit trade between Canada and the United States.



# AN ANALYSIS OF PRICES AND PRICE INDEXES IN CANADA, 1913-1925

THE index number of wholesale prices in Canada prepared by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics is an expression of the average change in the prices of 236 representative commodities. A detailed study of the prices of the individual commodities, the raw material of the index number, reveals a multiplicity of conflicting movement. For example:

Commodity	1913	Price 1914	1915
	\$	\$	\$
Apples, per barrel.....	4.335	4.90	4.958
Bananas, per bunch.....	1.613	1.613	1.936
Lemons, per box.....	4.33	4.115	3.50
Raisins, per pound.....	0.0734	0.0558	0.09
Carrots, per 75 pound bag.....	0.593	1.17	0.658

The prices of some commodities fall, of others rise, some remain constant while others change violently. Each commodity is subject to a variety of influences peculiar to itself. There is, however, generally some preponderance of movement in one direction, some general trend, due to influences affecting the value of money. It is upon the existence of a marked concentration about a central trend that the justification of the use of an average is based, and the significance of the average, *i.e.*, the value of the index number as a true indication of price movements, depends upon the degree of this concentration. This paper attempts to determine the degree of concentration by analysing the movement of prices of individual commodities. Such an examination will indicate to what extent the use of the average is justified, and will show what is really meant by a rise in the index number of prices from 100 in 1913 to 102.3 in 1914. This analysis seems particularly desirable at present when index numbers are being more widely used than in the past.

For this analysis use is made of the index numbers of the prices of the individual commodities (Table VI in the *Report on Prices and Price Indexes, 1913-1925*). This gives the ratio of the price of each commodity in each year to the price of that commodity in 1913. For example:

Commodity	Index number of prices.		Base 1913
	1913	1914	
Apples.....	100	112.5	113.8
Bananas.....	100	100.0	120.0
Lemons.....	100	95.0	80.8
Raisins.....	100	76.1	122.6
Carrots.....	100	197.3	111.0
etc.			

These price ratios range in 1914 from 69 to 197, but half of them fall between 94 and 109. A glance at the last year of the series,

1925, shows a wider scatter, the range is from 74 to 340, while half the cases fall between 132 and 188.

The analysis has been made in the following manner. For each year from 1914 to 1925 the price ratios of 232 commodities (four were dropped from the list because of discontinuity) have been arranged in order of magnitude. The ratios on this list, or array, which divide the group into ten sub-groups each containing one-tenth of the total number of commodities, are called the deciles. The fifth decile, or median, is the price ratio of that commodity in each year which was in the middle of the array, half of the commodities had price ratios less than this, the other half had price ratios greater than this. The median is one form of average. In comparing the median with the weighted index number of the Bureau of Statistics it must be remembered that no notice has been here taken of the relative importance of different commodities. The importance of this analysis, however, is that it makes plain the multiplicity of movement of individual prices, and the concentration round a central tendency. The significance of any index number calculated from these data depends on the spread between these deciles. The graphical representation of this system consists of a series of more or less parallel lines—the closer these are together the more significant the index number. This method was used by Professor Wesley C. Mitchell in his *Gold, Prices and Wages, under the Greenback Standard* (Berkeley, 1908); and later in his monumental *Business Cycles* (Berkeley, 1913).

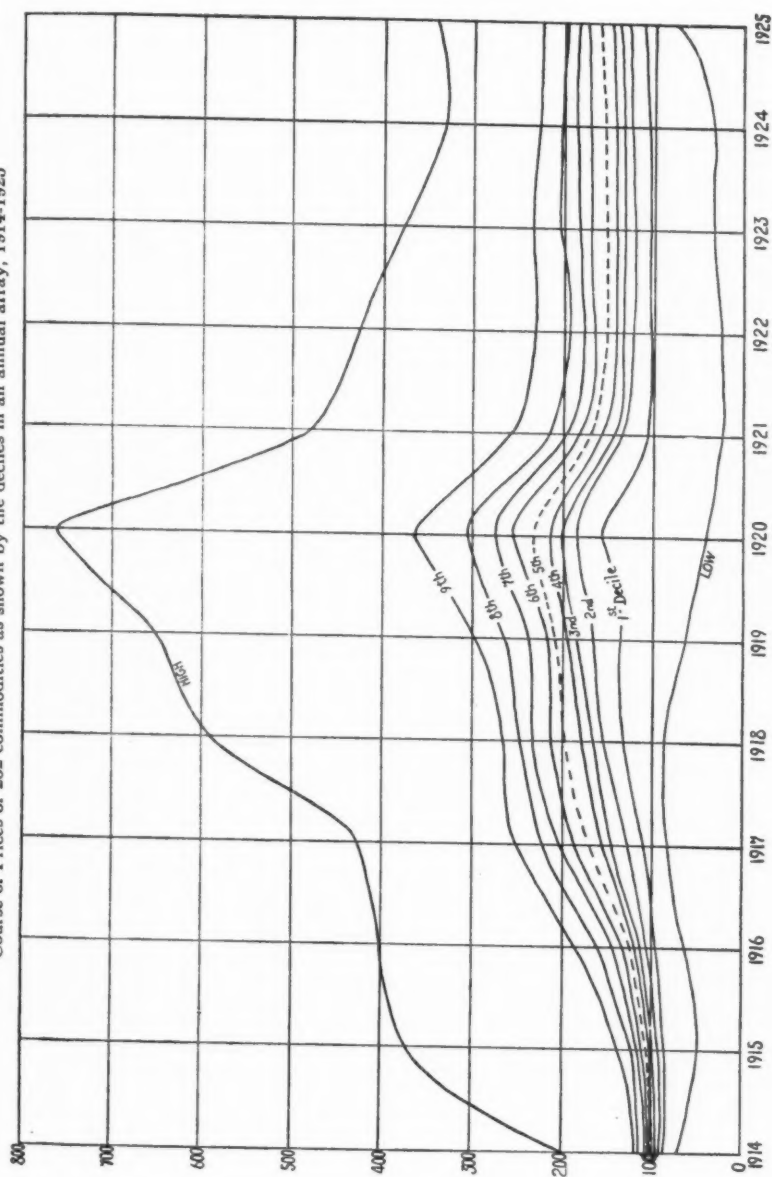
The result of our analysis may be seen in the following table and in the accompanying chart.

TABLE OF DECILES IN AN ANNUAL ARRAY OF THE INDEX NUMBERS OF 232 COMMODITIES  
BASE 1913

	Low	1st decile	2nd decile	3rd decile	4th decile	5th decile	6th decile	7th decile	8th decile	9th decile	High
1914.....	69	85	92	95	98	100	101	105	112	117	197
1915.....	46	84	91	98	100	104	108	114	121	137	371
1916.....	62	95	105	111	118	123	131	143	158	182	401
1917.....	62	107	126	144	154	169	184	202	221	250	427
1918.....	85	130	152	164	176	195	211	231	248	264	590
1919.....	63	134	164	183	193	207	215	235	264	295	650
1920.....	40	154	183	200	213	232	254	274	304	362	758
1921.....	22	106	132	141	155	168	180	194	215	256	479
1922.....	23	103	122	132	140	151	164	175	193	231	424
1923.....	32	103	119	131	140	152	171	182	203	234	374
1924.....	29	108	124	132	142	153	169	184	202	225	330
1925.....	74	110	126	137	146	160	173	182	195	223	340

To sum up this analysis a measurement of the significance of the average change in price may be suggested. In any year half the commodities fall within a certain range around the median—on the chart this is the distance between one point roughly half way between the second and third deciles, and another point

Course of Prices of 232 commodities as shown by the deciles in an annual array, 1914-1925



roughly half way between the seventh and eighth deciles. There is an even chance that any commodity will fall within this range in any year. (This is known as the inter-quartile range.) Where the median is changing violently it is desirable to have this expressed as a percentage of the median. Such a comparison of the inter-quartile range with the ratio expressed by the median is seen in the following table:

Index Number of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics	Year	Median	Interquartile range	Percentage which interquartile range is of median
102	1914	100	15	15
110	1915	104	22	21
132	1916	123	42	34
179	1917	169	75	44
199	1918	195	80	41
209	1919	207	70	34
244	1920	232	77	33
172	1921	168	56	33
152	1922	151	48	32
153	1923	152	56	37
155	1924	153	56	37
160	1925	160	56	35

This shows that the central tendency is distinctly broad. Prices are shown to be on the average 60 per cent. higher in 1925 than in 1913, but it would be more accurate to say that there is an even chance that the price of any particular commodity will be  $(60 \pm 28 \text{ per cent.})$  higher in 1925 than in 1913. The index number of the Bureau of Statistics is weighted, thus making allowance for the relative importance of various commodities. This weighting is the main cause of the divergence of this index number from the median of the above series; the differences are not very great but the weighted index number is more accurate. The accuracy of this weighted number is, however, subject to the same general condition as is the median, it depends on the degree of concentration in the data. The foregoing measure of the dispersion of the prices of the individual commodities used in making this index number is therefore a valid test of its accuracy. It may be noticed that the dispersion is least for the years nearest the base year, is greatest in the years of great disturbance and general rise in prices, 1917-1921, and that since the war the interquartile range has been, on the average, about 35 per cent. of the median. One may conclude with a suggestion that this measure of price dispersion may prove of value in the study of the business cycle, but such a possibility cannot be explored until a longer series of years of peace can be studied.

V. W. BLADEN  
A. F. W. PLUMPTRE

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

*Across Arctic America, Narrative of the Fifth Thule Expedition.* By KNUD RASMUSSEN. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1927. Pp. xx, 388. With 64 illustrations and 4 maps. No index.

*Fra Grønland til Stillehavet; Rejser og Mennesker. Fra 5. Thule-Expedition, 1921-24.* By KNUD RASMUSSEN. København: Gyldendalske Boghandel. 1925. 2 volumes. Pp. 464, 416. Frontispiece, 30 inserted plates, 470 pictures from photographs and drawings, 13 maps. Indexed.

BECAUSE of the different languages that prevent word-count serving for comparison, and because of the way some of the illustrations of the Danish edition are scattered through the text, it is difficult to estimate how much the English and American editions are shorter than the original Danish. This difficulty is increased by the use of two sizes of type in the Danish. Probably the shortening is by somewhat more than half, perhaps down to one-third. The Danish edition came out first in sections of 64 pages each, bound in covers and issued every two weeks. Section 2 contained, on the back cover, a summary of the expedition and prospectus of the book that will seem fair to the average careful reader when he lays down the fifteenth and last instalment. We translate the caption and all but the last few lines of the text as a better and no more laudatory summary than an impartial reviewer is likely to make. This reviewer, admiring Rasmussen (with Nansen) as one of the two great living explorers, would go farther in praise:

### FROM GREENLAND TO THE PACIFIC

The Fifth Thule Expedition which spanned a continent—the whole of Arctic America—was one of the most comprehensive ever undertaken. The expedition, which frequently traversed regions not hitherto studied, began in Greenland and closed in Siberia. For three years and a half its members visited among the Eskimo groups that inhabit the far-flung stretches of Arctic America. Here they carried through scientific researches, and here they gathered material for our [Danish] Ethnographical Museum. The expedition brought home over 20,000 specimens. Knud Rasmussen's popular book about this expedition . . . does not emphasize toil and difficulty but is devoted to interpreting the people among whom the author and his comrades lived; there are pictures of life as the snowhouse-dwellers live it and portraits of the outstanding personalities they met, with tales of their varied lives and fortunes. Takornok relates the story of the woman who ate her whole family because she was so hungry; the sorcerer, Aua, tells how he went up into the sky and how he heard the stars whistling and

saw the dead playing football with walrus skulls; Ikyuarsuk describes his visions and explains his knowledge of the occult. The expedition took thousands of photographs and so the illustrations of the book will be exceptional. . . .

There are travellers who tell you where they have been and how they got there, like Amundsen; what they saw and how it impressed them, like W. H. Hudson; or what they saw and what they think it meant, like Darwin. Rasmussen is least like Amundsen, most like Hudson, but with a deep shade of Darwin in the original Danish, and a faint tinge of him even in the popularized translation.

The scientist will grieve that the English-American editions are so shortened and so changed, and that the original is in the language of a small country not generally known to scholars, as are French or German. But this is really only a postponement of their feast. Rasmussen himself and his scientist comrades will be publishing the technical results gradually in English, for it has become a practice in Denmark to use English for the body of their scientific works, with perhaps a summary in French, where formerly they published in Danish with a French *résumé*. The general public will doubtless rejoice, however, because the present volume reveals Rasmussen clearly as what he is, a careful observer, a truthful chronicler, but, above all, a literary man—the kind of literary man that does not make his story as true as he can and still keep it interesting, but rather makes it as interesting as he can and still keep it true. The fine artistic flavour of the charming writer has not been as much weakened or changed in the transference from the original to the secondary language as one naturally expects. This is doubtless at least partly because the book was not really translated, but rather composed afresh by Rasmussen, who has a good command of English. When the author is himself translator the book is scarcely a translation. I judge that such differences as are defects resulted more than anything from his intermittent efforts to suit an American taste that had been described to him, but which he was nevertheless either unwilling or unable to meet fully.

This reviewer being who he is, and not having half the opportunity he would like to discuss a book he admires even in abridgment and translation, must devote the rest of his space to Rasmussen's treatment of the "Blond Eskimos".

Barely worth mentioning, and not in the least serious in a book that is travel rather than scholarly research, is the mistaken implication on page 285 of the English-language editions, that it was Diamond Jenness who first "rightly grouped all these tribes [the so-called 'Blond Eskimos'] under the name of Copper Eskimos." Certainly there belongs to Jenness the credit of the first systematic study that has been published about



these people, and perhaps that is all Rasmussen meant to imply. As to the origin of the name itself, Jenness is explicit on page 42 of his *Life of the Copper Eskimos*:

The uniformity of the culture throughout the region, and its marked difference from the culture of the Eskimos in all other places, justifies Mr. Stefansson in giving these natives a separate appellation, and his term 'Copper Eskimos' (*i.e.*, Eskimos who use copper instead of stone in their implements) very aptly seizes upon this most striking characteristic.

I am so tired of having myself, instead of the American journalists who deserve it, saddled with the responsibility of the "Blond Eskimo" name, that I naturally prefer the Jenness statement in this regard to Rasmussen's.

It is a misfortune to science that Rasmussen, the accurate and close observer, did not visit Prince Albert Sound, the district from which Charles Klinkenberg reported the "Blond Eskimos" in 1906 and where, on my visit in 1911, I found the traits that have been popularized as "blond" more pronounced than anywhere else in the whole Copper Eskimo district. The section visited by Rasmussen was, however, the same as that from which "blond" or "European-like" Eskimos were first reported, which was described by Franklin, 1824, in a striking passage that deserves to be quoted, since the "Blond Eskimo" discussion will not down:

The countenance . . . was oval, with a sufficiently prominent nose, and had nothing very different from an European face, except in the smallness of his eyes, and perhaps in the narrowness of his forehead. His complexion was very fresh and red, and he had a longer beard than I had hitherto seen on any of the aborigines of America.

Captain George Comer, the famous Arctic whaling captain, who is also well-known as a collaborator of Professor Franz Boas in studies of the Eskimos, has reported that Eskimos more European-like than those of Hudson Bay, where considerable mixture with Europeans has been going on for centuries, had visited at his Hudson Bay winter quarters, coming from the country west of King William Island, where no such European mixture is known to have taken place. Comer and Franklin are both confirmed, Comer as to locality and Franklin as to details of description, by Rasmussen (Danish edition, II, 261). The same is found, but slightly abbreviated and a bit less explicit, on page 287 of the English-language editions:

These blond types are not strictly peculiar to Victoria Island, for on King William Island, at the Great Fish River (Back River) and among the people around Kent Peninsula, I found persons with the very same outward peculiarities, the same light complexion, the reddish or brownish hair, the grey and often almost blue eyes, and an astonishingly luxuriant growth of beard that is unusual among Eskimos. All these findings were among groups who had no tradition that there ever had been among them blood mixture with foreigners. . . .

Perhaps because he is writing for a popular audience, Rasmussen has no set description (except that just quoted) of the peculiar types he noticed, but either has merely incidental references, or else mixes up the statement of how "blond" they are with his argument as to why they are "blond". In describing two young women of the Bathurst Inlet part of the Coronation Gulf district, he says, for instance (Danish edition, II, 220): "Their colour was light and delicate, and there was about their faces that blondness which is so characteristic of many of the Eskimos in this district." Under a photograph of a man (*Ibid.*, 260) he says: "Kingiuna . . . had reddish hair and was a pronounced type of the 'Blond Eskimo'." Under a picture (*Ibid.*, 261): "A young woman of the blond type from Coronation Gulf. But . . . if one found them among really light Scandinavians one would call them dark." Both these pictures and their captions are missing from the English-language editions. Another picture (*Ibid.*, 219) has the caption: "Our host, Kaniyak, an excellent type of the 'Blond Eskimos' so common in these regions." The same picture is opposite page 282 in the English-language editions, but with the slightly altered caption: "Our host, Kanigak, a typical specimen of the 'Blond' Eskimo of these regions." As to how the "blond" individuals among the Copper Eskimos look, so far as the mere blondness is concerned, Rasmussen appears to agree with Franklin (1824), Simpson (1837), Klinkenberg (1906), Mogg (1908), with all of which I also agree (see chapter XII of the 1913 edition and especially chapter X and the appendix of the 1927 edition of *My Life with the Eskimo*). It must be understood that this "blondness" is that of a colour light as compared with the typical Chinese complexion rather than as compared with the typical Norwegian.

What are the theories brought forward to explain this characteristic? In the case of the earliest observers, Franklin and Simpson, we cannot speak of theories advanced; they seem merely to marvel that these people are so like Europeans. Klinkenberg and Mogg were of the opinion that the "blond" individuals were descended from survivors of the last Franklin expedition, which view, and all theories of European blood coming in within the last century or from any known whaler, trader or explorer source, I showed to be untenable (*op. cit.*); Rasmussen dismisses these with equal emphasis, but more curtly (Danish edition, II, 259).

Rasmussen and I agree, then, in dismissing all but two theories: the one historical, that the "blondness" may be derived from the lost mediaeval Norse colony of Greenland; the other biological, that the "blondness" may have arisen among a Chinese-like people in some so-called accidental way. We disagree in that I consider the historical explanation less unlikely while he favours the biological. We differ, too,

in strength of conviction, he being surer of his favourite view than I of mine. For he says (Danish edition, II, 262; English, 287): "I am convinced that these peculiar types are the result of purely biological conditions, which are altogether accidental." I said (*op. cit.*, 1913 edition, p. 200): "There is no reason for insisting, now or ever, that the 'Blond Eskimo' of Victoria Island are descended from the Scandinavian colonists of Greenland; but, looking at it historically or geographically, there is no reason why they might not be." And then I went on to say (p. 202): "It is possible that for some so-called accidental reason blond individuals may have been born from time to time in the past to parents of pure Eskimo blood, and that these may have perpetuated themselves." So I was almost half of Rasmussen's opinion in 1912; fifteen years later I am still on the fence, but still leaning a trifle in the direction of the historical rather than the purely biological explanation. There is need for good and prompt work in physical anthropology in the district between King William Island and Back River on the east, and Banks Island and Cape Bexley on the west, to settle this and many other interesting and important questions before new white blood comes in to complicate the issues or before some epidemic such as measles or smallpox sweeps that country, killing its fifty to seventy-five per cent. of the natives, as did the measles epidemic of about a quarter of a century ago in Alaska and western arctic Canada. When hundreds die the few dozen "blond" individuals, or at least the most pronounced of them, might easily disappear.

Rasmussen refers several times with respect and admiration to the *Life of the Copper Eskimos* by Jenness, and appears to depend in part on the physical measurements cited by Jenness for his conclusion that the "blondness" observed is not of European origin. It is the more to be regretted that he does not discuss the special theories advanced by Jenness to account for some of this "blondness", such as the effect of snowblindness on eye colour, for instance.

Even the three times longer Danish edition gives the impression of being a mere foretaste of the scientific feast to come. It is the more striking, therefore, that Rasmussen has already given us, in this preliminary story of a notable expedition, not only a work of literary charm but also one of the deepest and soundest interpretations of primitive life and thought that has ever been put into a book.

VILHJALMUR STEFANSSON

*Vieux Manoirs Vieilles Maisons: publié par la Commission des Monuments Historiques de la Province de Québec. Première Série. Québec: L.-A. Proulx, Imprimeur du Roi. 1927. Pp. viii, 376; illustrations.*

*Small Houses of the late 18th and early 19th Centuries in Ontario.* By E. R. ARTHUR. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. [1927.] Pp. 48; illustrations.

THE publication of these two works is an indication of an awakening interest in a neglected subject. The book on the old houses of Quebec is a worthy successor of the work published by the Commission in 1925 on the early churches of the province. It contains notes on 238 buildings, and is profusely illustrated by 268 half-tone illustrations from photographs and six colour plates from paintings by Horatio Walker, R.C.A., Henry Carter, and Charles Maillard. The collection includes a wide range of buildings; manor houses, mills, warehouses, seminaries, convents, farm-houses, hospitals, presbytères, and city dwellings, together with some interior views, and details of woodwork, door-fastenings, ovens and mill machinery. Nowhere else can be found such a wealth of pictorial material on the subject in accessible printed form, and it is positively exciting to the lover of architecture to realize that the present volume is but a foretaste, and that it comes forth as the first of a series.

Some of the buildings included depend for their interest on their quaint native charm, others illustrate features of construction peculiar to the province, while still others, such as the Chateau de Ramezay, Laval Seminary, the Montcalm houses in the city of Quebec, and the so-called Chateau Bigot at Charlesbourg, are well-known edifices around which cluster historical or legendary associations. The crumbling walls of this last building have acquired in recent years a fictitious interest from the legends popularized by Kirby's romance, *The Golden Dog*; but the notes in the book under review disprove any connection between this edifice and the notorious last intendant of New France. Legend and documentary history are again at variance with respect to the house in St. Louis street in Quebec, said to be that of the surgeon Arnoux, to which the mortally wounded Montcalm was carried and wherein he died. No written evidence exists of its ownership or occupancy by Arnoux at this or any other period. It is to be regretted perhaps that some buildings have been included which are of slight interest and importance, either architectural or historical. The number of inferior specimens is, however, extremely small.

A brief introductory essay by Professor William Carless of McGill University gives an excellent analysis of the various types of the old buildings, and of their architectural ancestry, and offers some interesting and suggestive speculations as to the form of the earlier wooden structures of which, unfortunately, no traces survive. He calls attention to details which show the adaptation of the parent styles and methods of con-

struction, to a new environment and climatic conditions, and he admirably sums up the qualities which give value and interest to these old buildings, the most characteristic and original architectural development on the continent, north of New Mexico. "These old houses", he says, "were the answer to the conditions of contemporary life, and it is the manner of this response which should inspire our architects rather than the study of forms which belong to the past."

The provincial government is to be congratulated upon the production of a book which, in addition to furthering the admirable work of the Commission in the conservation of the physical memorials of the past, will be of great service to every student of our social history and the development of our arts throughout the Dominion.

It could be wished that other provinces could be induced to follow the example of Quebec in this work. In Ontario a beginning has been made by the department of architecture of the University of Toronto, which has been engaged during the past two years on a study of some of the older buildings of the province. The first section of a series of measured drawings and photographic reproductions appears in a brochure of 48 pages, published this spring. It contains an article by Professor E. R. Arthur, which gives an admirable introduction to the subject, a few half-tones, and 19 plates of measured drawings, on a fair-sized scale.

The buildings studied include some on the Ontario lake front at Bowmanville and Grafton, but the remainder have been found in the Niagara district. Data as to the dates of their erection and the names of their builders and craftsmen as yet are not obtainable, but further research may yield some information on these points. The material discovered in Niagara-on-the-lake is especially noteworthy for the excellent woodwork displayed in doorways and mantels. The virtually complete destruction of the old town by fire on its evacuation in 1813 probably fixes the antiquity of such interior features as still survive. A clue to the origin of such woodwork may be found in the fact that a considerable amount of ship-building was carried on at Niagara in the generation after the War of 1812. We know that in such ports as Salem the homes of master ship-builders were finished by the same craftsmen who carved the figure-heads and cabin fittings of New England vessels, and the same was probably true of Canadian ship-building centres.

The work inaugurated by the University of Toronto, carried on in the same careful and scholarly manner which this first series displays, and adequately supported by the necessary funds, will secure a permanent record of what is best in our early architecture; but for the preservation of the buildings themselves which possess historical interest

or artistic qualities, some larger provision is indispensable. Professor Arthur makes a timely appeal for action toward this end:

We have in Ontario so few of the houses built in the tradition which we admire and continue to-day, that it seems a tragic thing indeed that they should be demolished or allowed to perish from neglect. In England there is a Royal Commission for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments, which takes steps to prevent the destruction of buildings of historical interest, or to arrange for their removal to other sites. Such a work is naturally expensive, but here in Ontario it would not mean more than the removal of a frame or brick house to Crown property or to property acquired for the purpose.

CHARLES W. JEFFERYS

*Forests and Sea Power. The Timber Problem of the Royal Navy, 1652-1862.* (Harvard Economic Studies, Vol. XXIX.) By ROBERT ALBION. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1926. Pp. xv, 485.

IT is many years since the late Admiral Mahan began his studies on the rise and development of British sea power. Professor Albion has worthily continued the investigation in a different part of the same field. He is concerned not with the achievements of the Royal Navy on the seas, but with the story of its timber supply, for masts and hulls, over the two hundred years precedent to the adoption of iron instead of wood for ships of the line. But he is also concerned to show the results of the timber needs of the navy:

The action of a Swedish king, for instance, helped to colonize the coast of Maine; the fact that fir is of superior quality in northern latitudes was partly responsible for an important development in international law; Napoleon's Berlin and Milan decrees led to the instruction of African savages in the art of lumbering; and partly because many of the members of Parliament owned oak on their estates, Nelson was crippled in his blockade of Toulon.

To obtain suitable timber was by no means an easy problem especially in view of the increasing scarcity of English oak, evident from the Restoration onwards. The author castigates the Navy Board for its lack of policy and forethought during the greater part of the period, and for the general conservatism which prevented a fair trial being given to foreign woods. Only in the Napoleonic wars did the Board begin to appreciate the oak of the Mediterranean; on the southern United States they drew hardly at all. Mast timber and planking were early drawn from abroad, since English forests did not supply great masts. The Dutch wars of the seventeenth century interrupted the supply from the Baltic and turned attention to New England—a change which also harmonized with the prevalent views of empire trade. The American Revolution, however, checked this supply and badly handicapped the navy for Atlantic fighting. On this the writer remarks (p. 281):



It is futile, of course, to stress a single factor as the sole cause for victory or defeat in a contest so complex as the American Revolution, but certainly the lack of masts deserves more of a place than it has yet received among the various reasons for England's temporary decline in sea power.

Nor did the shortage end with the peace of 1783. Only in 1804, and just in time for Trafalgar, were measures taken to secure anything like an adequate supply of both oak and mast timber by tapping new sources, such as the oak forests of the Mediterranean, and by largely extending the supply from British North America. The problem naturally declines in importance after the Napoleonic wars.

The volume is of interest to the student of Canadian history since it shows the increasing share which British North America played in the supply of naval timber during the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. The figures of imports of timber into Great Britain for the years 1799-1815 (App., D.), reveal the extraordinary jump in the quantities of lumber for naval purposes drawn from British North America, especially after the treaty of Tilsit had closed the Baltic temporarily. Thus did the American Revolution first, and then the French, contribute to the development of Canada. The Canadian side of the story is by no means worked out in detail, and there is room for a detailed study of the share of the maritime provinces, Quebec and Upper Canada in the timber supply of the Royal Navy.

The volume is based on unprinted as well as printed materials, is well supplied with appendices, bibliography and index and is well written. It is perhaps a little severe in tone. So severely does Professor Albion criticize the Navy Board and naval administration in general that one is left wondering how a navy so run could possibly keep the seas at all, let alone fight battles and win them. Certainly there was dry rot ashore as there was afloat, and corruption and peculation, sloth and lack of foresight, flourished in Hanoverian England to no small degree. But, as so often, some of the evidence of neglect is evidence also of efforts to overcome these defects, which were in fact almost universal, and flourished along with sounder views and qualities. Nor have we entirely eliminated them to-day. It was Mahan's view that with all its faults, the "Venetian oligarchy" of the eighteenth century made perhaps its nearest approach to justifying itself by the way in which it secured British supremacy on the seas.

R. FLENLEY

*William Henry Harrison: a political biography.* (Indiana Historical Collections, Volume XIV.) By DOROTHY BURNE GOEBEL. Indianapolis. 1926. Pp. xi, 456.

As its title indicates, this book deals chiefly with Harrison's life as a politician. From his early manhood until his death he was an unwearied

seeker after public office with varying success. It is written with admirable detachment, candour, and sobriety. Every page bears evidence of the care the writer has taken to ascertain the facts by the statement of the sources of information in foot-notes, usually referring to original documents. The result is the partial effacement of an historical legend and the portrayal of Harrison as "an infinitely more real person, struggling in the limited field of territorial politics to maintain his power and place" (p. 88).

He was governor of the Indiana Territory and superintendent of its Indian affairs for twelve critical years, during which he obtained the cession of very large tracts of land by treaties signed by a few chiefs of questionable authority, and in nearly every case these treaties caused grave discontent and unrest among the Indians. Harrison boldly attributed this unrest to the malign influence of British agents. This charge is candidly discredited by his biographer, who remarks:

Indeed Harrison rang the changes on the British bogey almost as frequently as Robespierre had sounded the tocsin of Pitt's gold. For Harrison to admit that the Indians' discontent was due to the treatment they had received at the hands of the Americans would have been an indictment of his own achievement and Jefferson's policy, and in all sincerity, probably, he placed the blame upon the British (p. 108).

His carefully organized expedition, ending in the combat at Tippecanoe, contributed materially to increase the hostility of the Indians concerned, who knew that they had inflicted greater loss than they had sustained. His subsequent appointments as major general of the Kentucky militia and brigadier general in the regular army of the United States were clearly due to political influence, but he justified them in a great degree by his unflinching energy, industry, and personal popularity, which he took good care to maintain and even increase by all the arts of "a good mixer." After a year of failure marked by two severe reverses, his success in routing Procter's single weak battalion with his Indian auxiliaries on the Thames made Harrison at once a national hero and many years later president of the United States for one month.

Mrs. Goebel's biography is eminently sane, judicial, and readable. It is generally accurate. A few minor errors are noticed. Procter's name is consistently misspelled. The date of the surrender of Detroit is wrongly stated as August 15 (p. 138). Harrison is oddly described as advancing "from Erie . . . up the Niagara Strait to Fort George," and intending to attack Vincent "encamped across the river on Burlington Heights" (p. 184). "General William McClure" on the same page should read "George McClure."

The excellent bibliography appended is very full if not quite ex-

haustive. It is divided into three sections: manuscript collections, containing fifty-two titles; published collections, government records, and periodicals, seventy-eight titles; general works, monographs, and articles, 253 titles. The narratives of Atherton and Byfield and the histories of Christie, Ingersoll, James, Kingsford, Mahan, and Roosevelt are not mentioned.

E. A. CRUIKSHANK

*Political Unrest in Upper Canada, 1815-1836.* By AILEEN DUNHAM. London, New York, and Toronto: Longmans, Green & Co. 1927. Pp. 210.

THIS is the first of a series of "Imperial Studies Monographs", to be published under the auspices of the Royal Colonial Institute and the editorship of Professor A. P. Newton of the University of London. The author of the book is a Canadian, who, after spending a year in post-graduate work in the University of Toronto, went to the University of London to pursue the degree of doctor of philosophy; and the present volume is the result of her researches. The subject chosen, either for her or by her, is one on which a good deal has already been written, and it was not to be expected that it would yield any revolutionary discoveries. On the other hand, much that has been written about the history of Upper Canada prior to the Rebellion of 1837 has been prejudiced and partisan, and there was need for a thorough study of the documents which would place the facts in their proper perspective.

This Miss Dunham has given us. She has ransacked the documents relating to the period in the Public Record Office in London; she has made some use at least of the available newspaper material; and she shows herself thoroughly familiar with the secondary sources. Her attitude is admirably free from either a conservative or liberal bias, and she writes with clarity, and occasionally with distinction. To a degree unusual in books which have been written as academic theses, she combines the technique of history with the art of writing.

There are, it is true, one or two criticisms which might be made. In the chapter on the government of Upper Canada, Miss Dunham does not appear to grasp the commanding position occupied by the Executive Council, nor is her account of the constitution and powers of the Executive Council entirely satisfactory. She does not appear familiar with the study of the "Personnel of the Family Compact" published in the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW in September, 1926; possibly her manuscript had been sent to the printers before this appeared. There are occasional signs, moreover, that Miss Dunham is not as familiar with the personalities of the period with which she deals as one might wish. A

reference (p. 99) to "a certain William Morris" leaves one gasping; and it is incomprehensible how she can ever have conceived the idea that Edward Allen Talbot was "a brother of Thomas Talbot" (p. 51). These, however, are slips such as every writer is prone to make in unguarded moments, and they impair but slightly the value of a first-class piece of work. It is to be hoped that Miss Dunham will not rest content with her achievement in this book, but will follow it up with further studies in which, perhaps, the promise of her present work will be fulfilled.

W. S. WALLACE

*The Religious Warfare in Nova Scotia, 1855-1860.* (Howe and the Catholics.) By Sir NICHOLAS MEAGHER. Halifax. [1927.] Pp. 193.

THE opening chapters of this little book are apt to give the reader an unfavourable impression of the contents. The theme is stated bluntly: that "the bitterest quarrel the Province ever experienced" was merely a "device" of Howe's to "regain official place, pay, and power for him and the liberal party." Adjectives like "vulgar," "untruthful," "malignant," "vile," "virulent," and "sordid" abound.

The following chapters, however, carry their own correctives. The author has not been able to consult the chief Roman Catholic journals of the time, but Howe's own savage wrath in itself would absolve him from a cold, sly, calculated "device" which was indeed foreign to his nature.

From the pages of Howe's innumerable biographies, which usually pass for the history of Nova Scotia, a convincing case is made out for more consideration to this phase of local politics from 1855 to 1860. In the central chapters of the book the point of view is still interested, but the details are valuable. The coarsening of provincial politics, however, like that of Howe's own fibre during these years, is due to many causes, and religious strife was only one of the symptoms. The railway imbroglio with Grey and Hincks, the manner of the Reciprocity Treaty, and Howe's inexplicable recruiting campaign in the United States, all contributed to his descent into Avernus.

The name of the publisher is not given. The chapters are not numbered, and there is no index.

CHESTER MARTIN

*The Union of the British Provinces: By Hon. Edward Whelan, M.P.P. (A Delegate from Prince Edward Island): Written Immediately after the Conferences Held in Charlottetown and Quebec in 1864, on Confederation, and the Accompanying Banquets Held in Halifax, St. John, Montreal, Ottawa and Toronto.* With an introduction by

D. C. HARVEY. *Gardenvale and Toronto*: Garden City Press. 1927. Pp. xxvii, 248; illustrations.

Most timely is this reprint of Whelan's compilation, which, among all the contemporary records left by the "Fathers of Confederation", has for present-day readers the most lively interest. It comprises, strung together on a thread of narrative, speeches made to public audiences by political leaders during September, October, and the early days of November, 1864, at the time of the Charlottetown and Quebec Conferences and in the course of the journeyings of the delegates through the Maritimes and Canada for the purpose of mobilizing public opinion. Reflecting the enthusiasm of the days before discouraging opposition raised its head, the speeches were calculated to give their hearers an inspiring vision of the "new nationality" which was to transcend old provincial barriers. As Professor Harvey well points out in an illuminating historical and biographical foreword, the volume "is indispensable to the student of Canadian Confederation . . . who would attempt to recapture the vision [of the 'Fathers'], to understand and carry on their work." For some time the Charlottetown edition of 1865 has been only rarely procurable from out-of-print booksellers. In its new and more substantial form the volume fortunately becomes available to all interested in the crucial phase of Canadian history with which it deals.

REGINALD G. TROTTER

*The Growth of Canadian National Feeling*. By W. STEWART WALLACE. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1927. Pp. 85.

This small volume is an expansion and revision of an essay published originally in the *CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW* of June, 1920, and then issued in a limited pamphlet edition. A brief discussion is given to the geographical and historical conditions which, in the early years of Canadian history, made the development of a national consciousness possible, if not, indeed, inevitable. Not, however, until after Confederation did there emerge a definite national feeling. This found its first expression in the "Canada First" movement, which proved to be "of profound significance in Canadian history", since the ideas which its leaders "set out to preach to an unbelieving world have come in time to pervade the minds of all Canadians". The author outlines the subsequent growth of Canadian autonomy in its various aspects, and ends with a plea for a tolerant approach by both French- and English-Canadians to the problems which face them in their mutual relationships. A short but suggestive chapter on nationalism in art and letters has been added to the original essay.

GEORGE W. BROWN

*Gladstone and Britain's Imperial Policy.* By PAUL KNAPLUND. London: Allen & Unwin. 1927. Pp. 256.

THE purpose of this book is professedly to supplement Morley's *Life of Gladstone* rather than to give a complete exposition of Gladstone's views on Britain's imperial policy, but the reader interested in imperial policy will reverse the relation. The first two-thirds of the volume contains Professor Knaplund's essay, and the last third a selection of documents from the Gladstone papers which the trustees opened to the author. He seems to have made good use of them.

The American Revolution left a double imprint on Gladstone's mind. One was a revulsion from the policy of centralization which brought about that revolution and was then reinforced by it; the other was the haunting thought that colonial development was toward independence. He was ever quoting Burke upon the American troubles, and never ceased lamenting the tragedy of which the victory over British arms was only the central climax. If only those colonies had separated as friends instead of broken away as enemies! His consequent attitude toward the remaining colonies would have been gloomy had it not been illuminated by the happier memory of Greek experience. If the Greek colonies scattered over the Mediterranean world could combine political independence with strong filial affection, why could not the same be true of Britain's colonies over the greater world? Again and again he referred to the Greek solution as an ideal for the present day. To him the end of colonization was not "miserable pecuniary profits", but "the multiplication of the English race, and the spread of its laws and political institutions over the world."

Though an idealist who found honour in refusing to avenge the dishonour of Majuba Hill, Gladstone was also a realist. He wanted to stabilize the frontiers of the Empire, but could not. Germany's entry into the colonial field did not alarm him. It pleased him, because, as he remarked to Lord Granville, "German colonization will strengthen our hold upon our Colonies." For all his reasoning from Greek and American experience, Gladstone shrank from loosening the imperial ties. He vainly pressed his colleagues to hedge colonial autonomy with clear legal bounds similar to the division of powers in a federation, and when the Australian colonies demanded complete freedom in fiscal matters he balked before the prospect of colonies negotiating directly with foreign powers and repudiating the obligations of imperial treaties. Indeed, it is doubtful if he would have yielded had not Canada come to Australia's rescue by passing an act imposing differential duties. Then fear rather than faith allowed the Canadian act to stand—another example of how Canada's peculiar position, under the shadow of the



United States, has enabled her to lead the other colonies into a larger liberty. At other times Gladstone's realism coincided with his ideals, as when he defended the withdrawal of the garrisons on the ground that "self-government begets self-defence", and that responsibility for self-defence was essential for a healthy maturity.

In the latter part of the century the tide of opinion flowed back toward the older idea of imperial concentration, and this surrounded him with many misunderstandings. The Liberal leader was labelled a "little Englander", and the "recall of the legions" seemed ominous to those who thought in terms of Rome. But Gladstone was willing to devote all the resources of the Imperial government to protect any colony that would fight to preserve her connection with the mother country. Instead of imperial federation, which he thought would weaken the Empire, he strove for colonial federations which would strengthen it. Canada owes much to his ministry, which stopped Howe's dangerous agitation and urged British Columbia and Prince Edward Island into the union. Shortly after his death this adverse tide reached its flood, and then it receded until at last the principles of Gladstone himself were proclaimed to the world by the Imperial Conference of 1926.

Professor Knaplund was obviously intrigued by his subject, and therefore has produced a very readable volume in which there is little to criticize. His final flourish, that "Gladstone must be reckoned among the great architects and builders of the British Commonwealth of Nations," may challenge the reader to distinguish between what Gladstone said and what he did, but this is one of the rare passages where the author loosens the critical rein upon his enthusiasm. He does not claim originality for Gladstone, but he does reveal him as a great exponent of the ideals which have stood the test of time. He did well to reprint Gladstone's 1855 address on "Our Colonies," one of the greatest speeches ever delivered on the subject of the British Empire.

A. L. BURT

*Tecumseh, a Drama, and Canadian Poems; Dreamland and other Poems; The American Bison; Through the Mackenzie Basin; Memoirs and Reminiscences.* By CHARLES MAIR, LL.D. (*Master Works of Canadian Authors.* Ed. by JOHN W. GARVIN. Vol. XIV.) Toronto: The Radisson Society of Canada, Ltd. 1926. Pp. lxxi, 470, with 5 portraits in sepia, and 26 other illustrations.

CHARLES MAIR, who has died at a good old age since the publication of this volume, is of more importance in the history of Canadian literature than of Canadian public life; but he played a part in the Riel Rebellion

of 1869-70, and both as writer and as man of affairs he deserves the present timely republication of his works. *Dreamland and other poems* first appeared in 1868, *Tecumseh* in 1886, *The American Bison* in 1890, *Through the Mackenzie Basin* in 1908, and the *Memoirs and Reminiscences* in a weekly newspaper in 1925.

The *Memoirs and Reminiscences* deal with the stormy period of 1869-70, but though pleasant and picturesque, they do not add much to our knowledge. There are, of course, two sides, if not more, to the story of the activities of Mair and of his friend Schultz in the tangled events which led to the taking over of the territories of the Hudson's Bay Company, and the account given by Mair differs greatly from that of such a writer as Professor Macnaughton in his *Strathcona*. It would be well worth while for some impartial historian to give us a documented account of what really did happen in Ontario and in Manitoba in those years.

*Through the Mackenzie Basin* is also of historical value, though the editor should have told us that it formed only about one-third of the original volume published by Briggs in 1908, the remainder being *Notes on the mammals and birds of Northern Canada* by Roderick Macenzie. The paper on *The American Bison*, originally published in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, is full of interesting first-hand information, and Mr. John W. Garvin, the general editor of the series, claims that it was the origin of the interest which subsequently led the Canadian government to purchase the herd which has now grown to such great proportions at Wainwright.

But it is as a poet that Mair will be best remembered. In *Dreamland* he was the pioneer of the Canadian Nature School, which later burgeoned so splendidly both in Ontario and in Acadia; in *Tecumseh* he gave us a drama, the fine swinging rhetorical blank verse of which can still be read with pleasure. Even if we cannot wholly agree with Dr. Robert Norwood, who, in his introduction, says that "Charles Mair is our greatest Canadian poet by every count," he is at least in the front rank, and the Radisson Society has done well to include a collected edition of his works in their well-printed and well-bound series.

W. L. GRANT

*The Townships of Darlington and Clarke, including Bowmanville and Newcastle, Province of Ontario, Canada.* By JOHN SQUAIR. Toronto: The University of Toronto Press. 1927. Pp. 609.

SINCE retiring from the chair of French in University College, Toronto, Professor Squair has used industriously his leisure in writing this book on the scene of his boyhood. Local histories are apt to have only local

interest and of this the volume is full; there are hundreds of names of persons of only local prominence and extensive details of purely local affairs. In this respect the book is quite in accord with the accepted type. But it strikes a deeper note than that of the chronicle. Written as it is by a scholar, familiar with the best standards in literature, it is striking, not merely by the lucidity of its style, but by its grasp of what is salient in the life of a community, and by its contrasts of the life of to-day with the outlook of some seventy years ago. The author has an amazing memory. He can recall the scene and the emotions of the day on which he first went to school; he remembers the rural pleasures of his boyhood, the fish, the birds, the methods of farming, the very weeds in the garden and the common things in the daily life of home; the beliefs and prejudices, the drinking habits, the political meetings, and the persons of more or less distinction whom he saw or heard are all still vivid to him. Future students of social history of the time when Canada was first spreading out from ocean to ocean will find in this book a sane and penetrating study of the rural life of a new country in which rugged men were shaping a goodly heritage for their children.

The era of the clearing away of the forest and of the log cabin, dramatic, if you like, but also monotonous, was past and there was already a firmly-knit society, from which the present is the natural growth. What Professor Squair describes especially is the foundations on which this society was based, the geology of the region, the soil, the forest, the coming and the character of the original settlers, the roads, the streams, the means of securing water in the houses, the modes of farming and the implements used, the products and their prices, the mills, the fruit, the industries, the daily life, the food on the table, and the use of the busy and the leisure hours.

The book thus furnishes an unrivalled, a merciless, analysis of what was done and also of what was thought. Politics, religion, and education have a prominent place. We see Sir John Macdonald, George Brown and Edward Blake at a political meeting. We go into the schools. We hear the music of the time. The most astonishing thing is found in the account of religion. There were four distinct bodies of Methodists, those called Episcopal looking rather askance at the others because they themselves had bishops. There were Bible Christians, Disciples of Christ, Anglicans, Presbyterians, Roman Catholics. Religious emotion swept through the community. In the "Protracted meetings" there was often great clamour, people shouting with joy that their souls were saved, others crying aloud for mercy, confused cries of "Amen", "Hallelujah", "Bless the Lord". The Methodists reprobated not only the obvious evil

of horse-racing, gambling, and the travelling circus, but also dancing, card playing (though they tolerated the other game of chance, dominoes), and even the reading of novels, since these confused fact and fancy.

Professor Squair has produced a remarkable book, a model of its kind. He invariably speaks of himself in the third person as "the writer", and this is to be regretted; one prefers the personal note in the use of the word "I". The illustrations, many from crude photographs, are interesting. We have rugged faces, with signs of a toilsome life, but there are also refined faces, and the general impression is one of intelligence and force of character. The book is dedicated in chaste Latin to the author's Alma Mater, the University of Toronto.

GEORGE M. WRONG

*Early Educational History of Norfolk County.* By J. A. BANNISTER, Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1926. Pp. 194.

MR. BANNISTER'S study of early educational effort in Norfolk County is really wider in scope than its title might indicate, since he has provided a most ample background of conditions and developments within the province to which he relates the interesting data he has gathered with regard to his own county. The work, for this reason, has a distinct value quite apart from its local interest. As was the case elsewhere in the province, the first schools were provided locally by subscription and manned by whatever teaching material could be secured. It was not until 1810 that the first District School was opened, providing not primary but secondary education. Of the common schools of this period records are scanty, though they were meeting in a degree the needs of the great majority of the children. Mr. Bannister narrates the struggles in the Assembly to widen the administration's educational policy, with the Legislative Council a stumbling-block to the effort. The record both of provincial development and of Norfolk in particular is carried down to the union of 1841, thus covering the more obscure period. The author has sought out with diligence available records, both manuscript and printed, bearing on his subject. He has included in his text many interesting and pertinent documents and has given numerous brief but interesting references to the personality of individual teachers and to the methods of teaching. An appendix provides biographical notes on more than forty persons mentioned in the text and a bibliography of works consulted is also provided. An index would have added to the usefulness of the book.

FRED LANDON

*Ottawa Past and Present.* By A. H. D. Ross. Toronto: The Musson Book Co. [1927.] Pp. 224; illustrations.

THE title of this book suggests a history of the city of Ottawa from its foundation to the present time, and it is somewhat disappointing to find that, from about the middle of the nineteenth century, the story is only lightly sketched. The writer begins with the voyages of Champlain up the Ottawa river, and at the same time indicates the advantages of the site of the present city. The latter is of great importance, and might well have been further explained, with the aid of a map. When to a location at the junction of three water-ways is added a natural defensive position, it seems almost inevitable that Ottawa should have become a city. On first seeing Bytown, Bagot wrote in 1842 to the colonial secretary that it was "a position which might undoubtedly be made an Upper Canada Quebec. . . ."

There follow chapters on the early settlements on both sides of the Ottawa river, with details of those who came and where they settled—rather too many details for many readers. Ottawa was for many years inseparably connected with water-ways, and the writer has indicated this by giving two chapters to the building of the canals on the St. Lawrence, the Ottawa, and the Rideau rivers, on all of which the traffic through the city—and therefore its prosperity—depended. The coming of Colonel John By and the real beginning of Ottawa is covered in two chapters, and these might well have been extended. Here the narrative is almost completely dropped, and in its place are chapters on particular aspects of the life of the city—churches, schools, doctors, newspapers, lumbering and railways. These, too, are overloaded with detail.

It is surely not unreasonable to expect from a history of Ottawa published in 1927 some account of Ottawa as the capital of the Dominion. The long and bitter controversy as to the location of the seat of government is very briefly dismissed (p. 181), and yet the arguments used then throw not a little light on the advantages and disadvantages of the present capital. Why was Ottawa chosen? Has the choice been justified? What part have Ottawa and the citizens of Ottawa since played in the history of Canada? These are some of the questions that we should have liked Mr. Ross to answer.

No foot-notes are provided to guide the curious to the wide range of sources that the writer has evidently used; nor is there any bibliography. There are many excellent reproductions of old pictures and plans of Ottawa and the surrounding district.

G. DE T. GLAZEBROOK

*Le Problème Social, Quelques Eléments de Solution.* Par ARTHUR SAINT-PIERRE. Avec une introduction par EDOUARD MONTPETIT. Montreal. 1925. Pp. 206.

THIS volume by a professor in the School of Social Science and Hygiene in the University of Montreal is a general survey of social economics, with special reference to Canadian conditions. It deals with such questions as the place of trade unionism in modern industry, unemployment, the sweating system, the minimum wage, the social effects of modern capital development, the family and industry, and other kindred topics. The author is a conscientious apologist for the aims of Roman Catholic syndicalism, and has faith in state action promoted by humanitarian motives. His work is of much more value to the general reader than to the specialist. It does not break new ground, but presents in interesting fashion the results of modern studies. The research, while not profound, is careful, with a leaning towards French authorities. The book can be heartily recommended to those who are interested in social problems, and we can only wish that it was also printed in English for the benefit of the many Canadians who cannot read French. The volume has no index.

ALEXANDER BRADY

*The Port of Montreal.* (National Problems of Canada, McGill University Economic Studies, No. 6.) By LAWRENCE CHALMERS TOMBS. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1927. Pp. 178.

IN the development of Canada the St. Lawrence has played, and doubtless will continue to play, a dominant part. Its great port, therefore, will always be prominent in the story of our economic historians. Mr. Tombs, in his monograph, has accumulated a mass of facts and figures (most of the latter would have been better placed as appendices rather than scattered at random through the text), and has touched on the majority of the outstanding problems connected with the port of Montreal. His book is descriptive rather than analytical, however, and, taken as a whole, is not an objective study. There is evident a distinct note of local patriotism, and the work in places resembles a hand-book that might have been issued to attract business to the port rather than a scientific study—an impression which is reinforced by the appearance of the volume.

There is one serious omission. In the chapter, entitled *History of the Port*, no reference has been made to the vital part played by steam in the development of the port. Until the steam tug began to tow vessels up the river, Montreal was in no sense a rival to Quebec.



The volume is not dated, and there are several cases of careless English. The numerous charts and illustrations are a valuable feature.

A. R. M. LOWER

*Economic and Social Aspects of the Nova Scotia Coal Industry.* (McGill University Economic Studies, No. 5.) By EUGENE FORSEY. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada, Ltd. 1926. Pp. 126.

THIS is one of the best of the economic studies which have been issued by McGill University up to the present time. In its original form the work included an historical sketch going back to the beginnings of coal mining in Nova Scotia; but in its present form it covers the period from 1893 to 1926. Mr. Forsey has dealt impartially with questions of finance, markets, and labour disputes, and, not content to rely on the published sources (although these are very abundant, as a result of the many troubles through which the industry has passed), he has made personal investigations on the spot. Those familiar with the situation will not blame him for the absence of a programme for the future, while for those who are trying to construct such a programme the book gives a good succinct account of the factors which must be considered. With the adoption of most of the Duncan report, it is possible that the situation in Nova Scotia may be considerably changed. Readers of Mr. Forsey's book will be convinced that many of the troubles of the Nova Scotia coal industry have been due to failure of the management to take into account the beliefs and feelings of the workers; but, in view of the inaccessibility of the market in the United States, it is very difficult to see how the industry could have been made more economically successful.

HUBERT R. KEMP

*The Pulp and Paper Industry in Canada.* By NATHAN REICH. (McGill University Economic Studies, No. 7.) Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada, Ltd. 1927. Pp. 77.

*The Automobile Industry of Canada.* By C. HOWARD AIKMAN. (McGill University Economics Studies, No. 8.) Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada, Ltd. 1927. Pp. 48.

THE manufacture of pulp and paper is one of the two or three dominant Canadian industries. Its extremely rapid growth within the twentieth century is of special interest in Canada's industrial history, and this brief monograph by Nathan Reich is an attempt to explain that growth. It is a successful study. Due consideration is given to the various factors influencing the development of the industry and the export of pulpwood is treated sanely, although too briefly.

The production of automobiles in Canada is much less important than that of pulp and paper, but it presents some problems of genuine interest to economists and to the general public. Among these is the effect of the tariff on the Canadian manufacture of automobiles. Mr. Aikman attempts to discuss this and other problems, but his treatment is much too brief to be satisfactory. The essay is, in fact, no more than a short, although clear, outline of the development of the automobile industry in Canada.

ALEXANDER BRADY

*The Canadian Year Book, 1926.* Published by Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Ottawa: The King's Printer. 1927. Pp. xxxiii, 1057.

*Statistical Year Book of Quebec, 13th year, 1926.* Quebec: L. A. Proulx. 1926. Pp. xxiii, 479.

THAT there is a pressing and growing demand for accurate statistical knowledge, published in convenient form, is amply indicated by the increasing size and widening circulation of year books and statistical abstracts. As one looks through the now heavy volume of the once slender *Canada Year Book*, one is astounded at the profusion of statistical data. We have in this country at least no paucity of statistics, nor under the present Dominion statistician is there likely to be. Year by year the *Canada Year Book* grows more and more portly, in spite of a diet of thinner paper, and at the same time it grows proportionately more useful.

It is, however, a question whether a publication which is professedly an abstract and a summary should be allowed to become unwieldy. One would not readily sacrifice any of the information it contains, but without any pangs of regret one would give up the thousands and millions in some of the historical tables. The number of figures in many of the tables exceeds the memory-span of all but the brightest of us, and trade figures with the millions omitted would answer the purpose for which a statistical abstract is designed.

As one year book succeeds another (not always at regular intervals), marked improvements are made, and the blighting shadow of the old-fashioned census becomes fainter. Quantity figures are replacing values to the great joy of all users of the publication. It is to be hoped that more will be done in that direction. Instead of figures of doubtful accuracy and usefulness showing the net value of the manufacture of boots and shoes, let us have a condensed table showing the approximate number of pairs manufactured. This is, however, merely pointing out what the makers of this publication already know. The deficiencies are rapidly being made good, and not only is a larger body of raw material presented each year but new excursions into elaborate computations, such as those of national

wealth, the balance of indebtedness, and foreign capital are planned and carried out. While there are still worlds to conquer, the Dominion statistician and the editor of the year book have an impressive record of things accomplished.

The *Statistical Year Book of Quebec* outdistances any similar provincial publication and aims at doing for the province what the *Canada Year Book* does for the Dominion. Its contents fall into two parts: (1) Statistics collected in co-operation with the Dominion Bureau or derived from it; (2) statistics collected by the Quebec Bureau alone. The two combined constitute a comprehensive source of information concerning that province.

It is of special interest that this year book publishes for the first time vital statistics comparable to those of other provinces. While, as is well known, birth rates and death rates are both high in Quebec, the record shows marked improvement as a result of the efforts of public health authorities.

Among statistics not collected elsewhere are to be noted the record of agricultural co-operative associations and of co-operative banks. Sufficient detail is given to make the data highly usable.

An unfortunate though pardonable tendency toward exaggerating provincial importance is exemplified in the tables showing the proportion of Quebec trade to the total external trade of the Dominion. It would be less misleading if these tables were labelled "Proportion of Total External Trade passing through Quebec Ports." Only a small portion of it originates there. The unwary are likely to be misled by the present caption.

Taken altogether the *Statistical Year Book of Quebec* is a worthy companion to the Dominion volume.

W. A. MACKINTOSH

*Main Currents in American Thought.* Vol. I, *The Colonial Mind, 1620-1800*; Vol. II, *The Romantic Revolution in America, 1800-1860.* By VERNON LOUIS PARRINGTON. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1927. Pp. xvii, 413; xxii, 493.

THESE are the first two of three volumes on American literature from its beginnings to 1920. The author's real interest is, however, in the development of philosophical and political ideas, and in this fact lies the chief value of the book for the student of history. "Worth a volume," the author remarks, "of such petty moralizing" as *The Chambered Nautilus* is *The One-Hoss Shay*, for does it not reflect the hatred of Calvinistic dogma which marked the Boston group of whom Oliver

Wendell Holmes was the centre? This is characteristic of the author's approach to his theme. The political and economic history which formed a background for the work of every writer is at all times kept clearly before the reader. Scant attention is given to the discussion of form, and writers whose literary merit would scarcely justify passing notice are given a place because of their importance in moulding or handing on ideas.

Canadian readers will find here much valuable comment on American influences which have affected Canadian history, and on ideas which have run a more or less similar course in Canada and the United States. Interesting comparisons are invited by such subjects as the development of democratic institutions and philosophy, and the adaptation of European ideas to the American environment. The author's views are stimulating, if not always beyond question. One may, for example, doubt the fairness of the following observation in connection with Thomas Hutchinson, the Tory governor of Massachusetts:

The Tory theory of the British Constitution may well be regarded as a masterpiece of the gentle art of tailoring . . . Gentlemen might well praise the "glorious British Constitution." It was their little jest at the expense of the English people, who were content to be exploited by them. In this game of political pretense Hutchinson willingly shared. He knew that Parliament did not represent the English people.

The eighteenth century distrust in an unlimited democracy should not be so lightly dismissed by an American writer with the charge of insincerity. Many honest men shared in the view that political authority should be guarded against democratic excesses. The American Constitution, indeed, bears so heavily the imprint of that belief that one may well wonder whether the framers of the Constitution differed so essentially in this matter from Thomas Hutchinson as Mr. Parrington would have us believe.

The author's style is pungent and clear, although nothing would have been lost had he more often restrained his love of polysyllables.

GEORGE W. BROWN

## RECENT PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA

(Notice in this section does not preclude a subsequent and more extended review.)

### I. THE RELATIONS OF CANADA TO THE EMPIRE

Canada: *The Imperial Conference debate* ((Round Table, June, 1927, pp. 600-607).

An account of the discussion in the Canadian parliament on the difficulties and solutions of the Imperial Conference.

KNAFLUND, PAUL. *Gladstone and Britain's Imperial policy*. London: George Allen and Unwin. 1927. Pp. 256.

Reviewed on page 260.

MARRIOTT, Sir JOHN A. R. *Empire settlement*. Oxford: University Press. 1927.

A short historical sketch followed by a discussion of the various schemes now in existence for stimulating emigration from the British Isles to the dominions.

MARTIN, CHESTER. *Prophets of the Commonwealth*. (British Commonwealth Series, I.) Ottawa: The Association of Canadian Clubs. 1927. Pp. 19.

An examination of the principles of British and Canadian statesmen at the time of the American revolution, the attainment of responsible government in Canada, and the recent Imperial Conference.

SMELLIE, K. B. *The British Imperial Conference* (American Political Science Review, May, 1927, pp. 376-381).

Remarks on the work and on the fallacies of the last Imperial Conference.

### II. HISTORY OF CANADA

#### (1) General History

BUSHNELL, DAVID I. *Burials of the Algonquian, Siouan and Caddoan tribes west of the Mississippi*. (Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 83.) Washington: Government Printing Office. 1927. Pp. x, 103.

To be reviewed later.

GOEBEL, DOROTHY BURNE. *William Henry Harrison: A political biography*. (Indiana Historical Collections, volume XIV, Biographical Series, volume II.) Indianapolis: Historical Bureau of the Indiana Library and Historical Department. 1926. Pp. xi, 456.

Reviewed on page 255.

HARRINGTON, HENRY. *The Norse discovery of America* (Thought, June, 1927, pp. 5-25).

A collection of the evidence of the Norse discovery of America and "a synthetic statement of the facts to be learned from it."

MATHER, FRANK JEWETT, JR.; MOREY, CHARLES RUFUS; HENDERSON, WILLIAM JAMES. *The American spirit in art*. (The pageant of America, edited by RALPH HENRY GABRIEL, volume XII.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 1927. Pp. 354.

To be reviewed later.

OGG, FREDERIC AUSTIN. *Builders of the republic*. (The pageant of America, edited by RALPH HENRY GABRIEL, volume VIII.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 1927. Pp. 352.

To be reviewed later.

*Women's Canadian Historical Society of Ottawa. Annual report, 1926-1927.* Ottawa: 1927. Pp. 32.

The twenty-eighth annual report of the society.

(2) **New France**

ANGERS, P. *Le docteur William-Ernest Munkel* (Bulletin des Recherches Historiques, juin, 1927, pp. 350-351).

Some details about the life of the first doctor in the parish of Saint-Georges-de-Beauce.

AUDET, FRANCIS-J. *Alexandre Menut* (Bulletin des Recherches Historiques, juillet, 1927, pp. 408-411).

An introduction to a certain tavern-keeper of the eighteenth century, with two interesting extracts from the *Gazette de Québec*.

*Au sujet de la famille de Lotbinière* (Bulletin des Recherches Historiques, juillet, 1927, pp. 389-398).

A selection of letters to and from members of the Lotbinière family.

*Le chevalier d'Aiguebelle* (Bulletin des Recherches Historiques, juillet, 1927, pp. 412-413).

A memorandum on a soldier of France in the struggle for Canada.

DAVID, A. *À propos du testament de l'abbé Maillard* (Nova Francia, avril, 1927, pp. 149-163).

The conclusion of an article on the will of the abbé Maillard, missionary to the Indians in the eighteenth century.

HERFIN, JULIEN. *Les provinces de France et la Nouvelle France: Les malouins colonisateurs au Canada; Les Acadiens déportés dans la région malouine* (Nova Francia, avril, 1927, pp. 181-186).

The first part of a paper on the explorers and settlers of New France from the port of St. Malo.

KINGSTON, C. S. *The Western Sea in the Jesuit Relations* (the Oregon Historical Quarterly, June, 1927, pp. 133-146).

LA ROQUE DE ROQUEBRUNE, R. *Bigot et les commandants des postes* (Nova Francia, avril, 1927, pp. 173-176).

An indication of the practice prevalent in New France "de voler le roi".

LESSARD, RICHARD. *Notes sur la seigneurie de Carufel* (Bulletin des Recherches Historiques, juin, 1927, pp. 359-360).

Observations on the seigniorie of Carufel, now the fief of the Ursulines of Three Rivers.

MONTAGU, P. de. *Les familles D'Amours de Serain et D'Amours de Chauffour* (Bulletin des Recherches Historiques, juin, 1927, pp. 328-331).

A genealogy of the D'Amours family, of whom Mathieu D'Amours de Chauffour sat in the Sovereign Council of New France.

NICHOLLS, ALBERT G. *The romance of medicine in New France* (Dalhousie Review, July, 1927, pp. 226-234).

A brief account confined almost entirely to the seventeenth century.

*La perte de la flûte du roi "Le Caméléon" au Sault de la Chaudière en 1754* (Bulletin des Recherches Historiques, juillet, 1927, pp. 404-406).

Contemporary reports of the loss of the vessel *Le Caméléon*.

ROY, PIERRE-GEORGES. *Pierre-François Rigault* (Bulletin des Recherches Historiques, juin, 1927, pp. 321-324).

A sketch of the life of a notary of Three Rivers in the eighteenth century.



**(3) British North America before 1837**

ALBION, ROBERT GREENHALGH. *Forests and sea power: The timber problem of the Royal Navy, 1652-1862*. (Harvard Economic Studies, volume XXIX.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1926. Pp. xv, 485.

Reviewed on page 254.

BOYCE, Archdeacon. *The first Empire builder—Sir Walter Raleigh* (United Empire, June, 1927, pp. 321-323).

A brief biography of the pioneer of Empire and an account of the expeditions he sent out to America.

FLICK, ALEXANDER C., ed. *The papers of Sir William Johnson*. Volume V. Albany: The University of the State of New York. 1927. Pp. x, 855. Maps and illustrations.

Includes papers written in the years 1766-1767. Among the topics on which light is thrown are the submission of Pontiac, the Indian resistance to England's occupation of the western territory acquired in 1763, the attachment of the western tribes to the French régime, the regulation of the fur trade, the relations of Johnson and Carleton in controlling the Indians of Canada.

H.B.C. *pioneers: William Sinclair (1766-1818)* (Beaver, June, 1927, pp. 18-20).

An account of a Hudson Bay Company trader of the latter eighteenth century.

LANDON, FRED. *Benjamin Lundy, Abolitionist* (Dalhousie Review, July, 1927, pp. 189-197).

A biographical sketch with brief references to negro settlements in Upper Canada in the 1830's.

QUAIFE, M. M. *Two captives of old Detroit*. (Burton Historical Collection Leaflet, volume V, number 5.) Detroit: Detroit Public Library. 1927. Pp. 65-80.

The narration of the capture of James and Mary Moore by the Indians.

——— *When Detroit invaded Kentucky* (Historical Quarterly, January, 1927, pp. 53-67).

An account of the British-Indian invasion of Kentucky led by Captain Henry Bird of Detroit, in the early summer of 1780.

WRONG, HUME. *Sir Alexander Mackenzie, explorer and fur trader*. (Canadian men of action series, number IV.) Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1927. Pp. 171.

To be reviewed later.

**(4) The Dominion of Canada**

BYNG of VIMY, General Viscount. *The Canadian at home* (United Empire, June, 1927, pp. 328-332).

An address delivered at a meeting of the Royal Colonial Institute on the problems and opportunities of Canada.

Canada: *The new parliament at work* (Round Table, June, 1927, pp. 594-599).

A summary of the work of the first session of the sixteenth federal parliament of Canada.

Canada: *Questions with the United States* (Round Table, June, 1927, pp. 607-608).

Rumours of an agreement with the United States government on the tariff issue.

CHARLESWORTH, HECTOR. *The Canadian scene: Political and historical*. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1927. Pp. 235.

Romantic phases of the development of Canada as a nation and reflections on the achievements of eminent statesmen of the past.

*Diamond Jubilee of Confederation.* Ottawa: The Executive Committee of the National Committee for the celebration of the Diamond Jubilee of Confederation [1927]. Pp. 48.

Suggestions for historical pageants, floats, and tableaux (with illustrations in colour), together with a short sketch and selected bibliography of Canadian history.

EDMONDS, W. EVERARD. *The Canadian flag day book.* Toronto: Longmans, Green and Company. 1927. Pp. xiv, 152.

Twenty-four short essays commemorating outstanding events in Canadian and British history, prepared to mark the diamond jubilee of Confederation.

GAMBLE, E. H. *Canada's problem—new settlers* (Beaver, June, 1927, pp. 11).

A statement of the work of the Hudson's Bay Company Overseas Settlement Limited.

GUEST, L. HADEN. *Canada as a career.* London: Duckworth. 1927. Pp. vii, 80.

"Information as to the kind of career and the kind of life that is open to the Britisher, and particularly the young Britisher, in Canada."

MARVIN, DONALD M. and VAN BUSKIRK, J. EDWIN. *Canada and the twentieth century.* Montreal: The Mercury Press. 1926. Pp. 143.

An illustrated and carefully compiled statistical handbook of the Dominion of Canada, its resources, its financial and industrial structure, and its opportunities and prospects, published by the Royal Bank of Canada.

MCCREADY, J. E. B. *Canada's Diamond Jubilee* (Dalhousie Review, July, 1927, pp. 137-148).

Observations on the origins and beneficial effects of Confederation by a veteran journalist who was present in the press gallery at the first sitting of the Dominion parliament.

MCDougall, J. L. *Nationalism and unity in Canada* (Dalhousie Review, July, 1927, pp. 171-178).

An argument in favour of a harmony of interests between the French and English in Canada, based on a brief discussion of their past relations.

*The Napanee Standard, 1862-3* (Lennox and Addington Historical Society, Papers and Records, volume XII, pp. 9-42).

Extracts from a Napanee weekly paper during a period of momentous interest.

PATERSON, ALEXANDER P. *The true story of Confederation.* Second edition. With addenda containing original Confederation treaty. Saint John: Distributed by Saint John Board of Trade. 1926. Pp. 54.

The story of Confederation from the point of view of the Maritime Provinces, published by authority of the government of the province of New Brunswick.

PERREAULT, ANTONIO. *Déceptions et griefs* (L'Action Française, mai-juin, 1927, pp. 385-402).

An indictment of the interpretation of the Constitution of 1867.

*Sir George Etienne Cartier, Bart., 1814-1873* (Beaver, June, 1927, p. 5).

A brief record of the public life of Cartier.

*Sixty years of Canadian progress, 1867-1927.* Ottawa: F. A. Acland. 1927. Pp. viii, 168.

A summary of Canadian constitutional, economic, and natural development, printed for the diamond jubilee of the Confederation of Canada.

STEVENSON, J. A. *Immigration problems in Canada* (Empire Review, June, 1927, pp. 518-526).

An attempt to analyze the problems of immigration with special reference to the transplantation of population from Britain to Canada.

WALLACE, W. STEWART. *The growth of Canadian national feeling*. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1927. Pp. 85.

Reviewed on page 259.

WHELAN, HON. EDWARD. *The union of the British provinces*. With an introduction by D. C. HARVEY. Gardenville, Quebec: Garden City Press. 1927. Pp. xxiii, 248.

A new edition of the little book written by Whelan immediately after the conferences held in Charlottetown and Quebec in 1864 on Confederation.

Reviewed on page 258.

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